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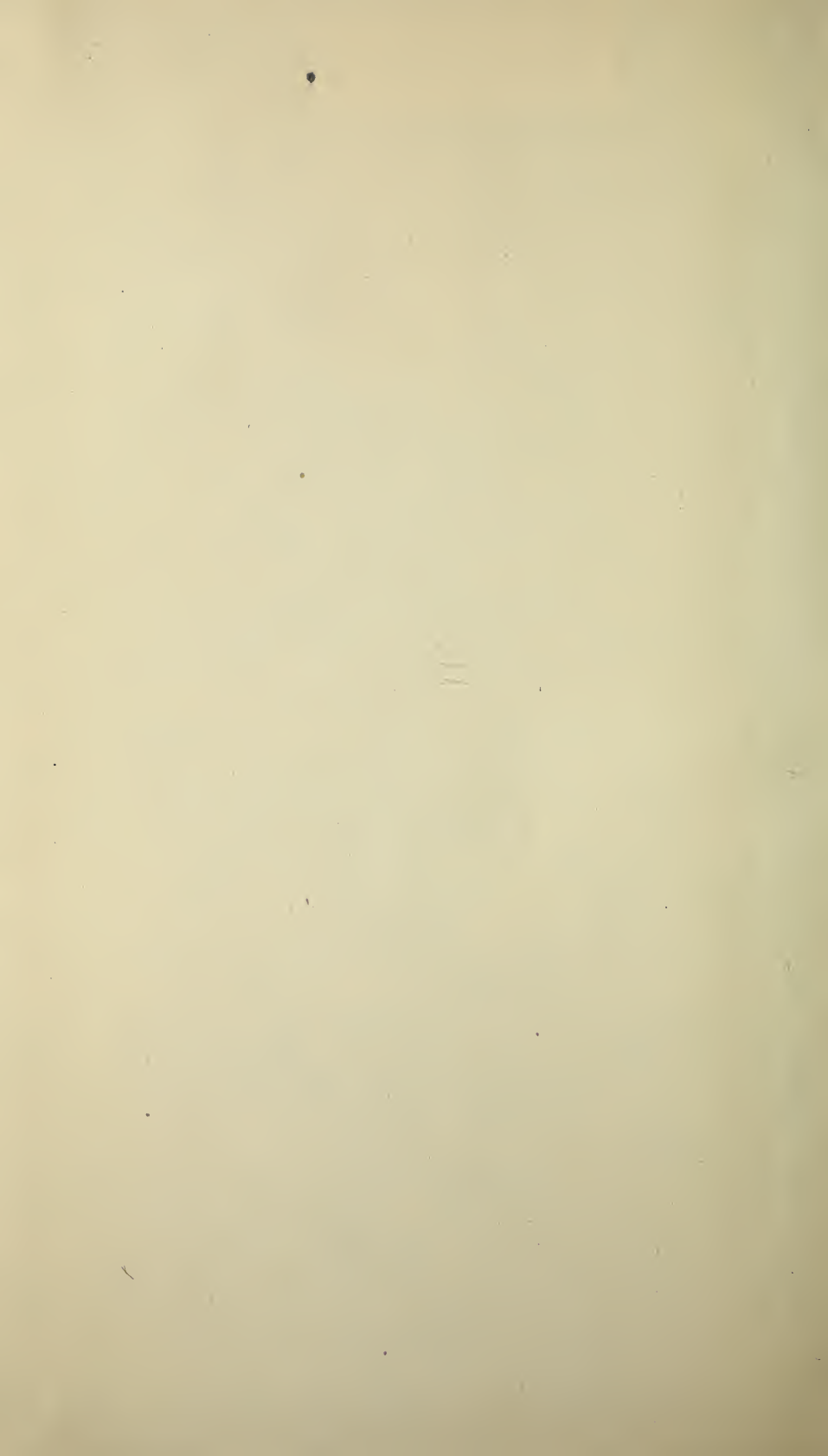
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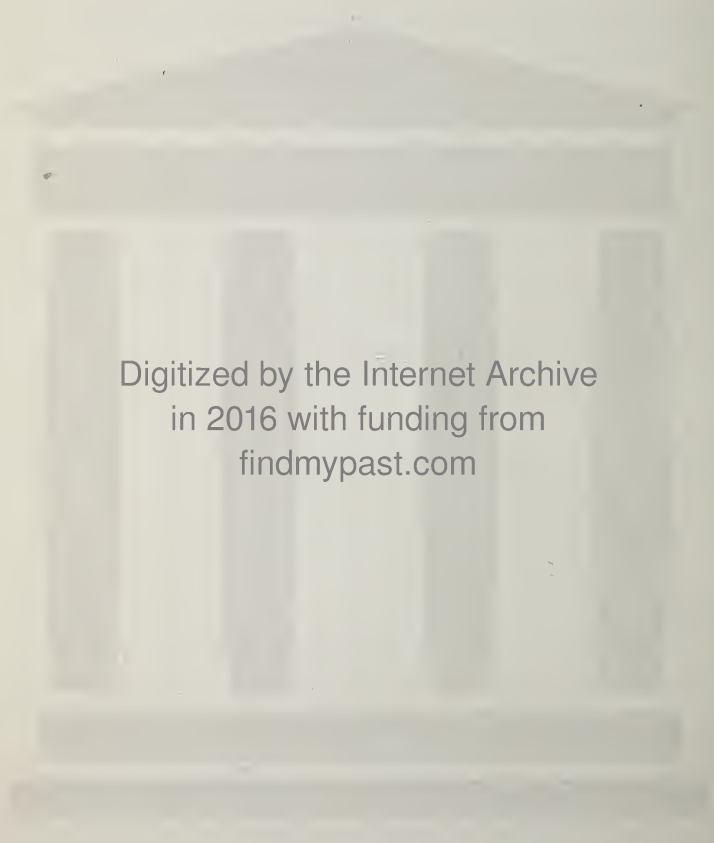


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LET'S STUDY THE LOCAL HISTORY OF ILLINOIS*

BY EDWARD P. ALEXANDER

LOCAL history has had a long and difficult struggle for recognition. For many years the local approach to historical problems was appreciated by neither the professional historian nor the general public. The able historical writer spent his time going through documents assembled at national capitals, busy centers of commerce, or great universities and libraries. It was easy for scholars to make fun of the local antiquarian who gave his time to enthusiastic investigation of minute details of the past which were useful to few people. And the general public, while it might admire and read histories of the world and of the great nations, gave little attention to the work of local historians which was, all too frequently, dully written and unattractively printed.

During the last generation or two, the attitude toward local history has radically changed. In the first place, history is no longer defined as past politics. Today the professional historian is interested in studying social, economic, cultural, and intellectual history in a way he has never done before. For any given region he wants to find out where the people came from, what institutions and ideals they brought with them, how they learned to get along together, how they made a living, what their churches and schools were like, what they thought about, and how they expressed themselves in literature, art, music, and architecture.

When this approach is taken, the worth of local history

*This paper follows the general outlines of the speech made by Dr. Alexander at the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society on October 6, 1945.

rises at once. We get close to some of the vital questions of our own day: How does the melting pot change people into a common nation? How does industrialization take place? What does democracy mean? These questions can be answered best, as Frederick Jackson Turner and his followers have pointed out, not solely by studying the documents of a central government, but by wading deep into the records of the local past. The courthouses, the town and village halls, churches, schools, businesses, and other local institutions have materials which will throw new light upon the past and its meaning for the present and the future. Everywhere historians are recognizing this new approach, and many graduate students are beginning to examine the local records.

Local history, properly studied, will modify many of the accepted opinions held by earlier students, and this is true even in the field of politics. Let us take an example of much interest to the people of Illinois. It has commonly been held that the German element in the Middle West had an important part in electing Abraham Lincoln President in 1860. This idea has been based upon the leading rôle taken in the campaign by German leaders such as Carl Schurz, the brilliant Forty-eighter, who was then living in Watertown, Wisconsin. But the late Joseph Schafer examined the Wisconsin census records closely and compared them with the poll lists for several communities. His conclusion was that in Wisconsin about five-sixths of the Germans joined the Irish in supporting Stephen A. Douglas, and he pointed out that if all the Germans in Michigan, Ohio, and Indiana had voted against Lincoln, he still would have been elected in those states. Dr. Schafer showed, by using local records, that Wisconsin Germans feared the anti-foreign Know Nothing Party antecedents of the new Republican Party and that they distrusted the liberal social theories of the Forty-eighters. Jay Monaghan has examined this thesis carefully for St. Clair County, Illinois, again using all the local poll books he could

find, and he concluded that the Germans in that county, in contrast to their brothers in Wisconsin, supported Lincoln and were receptive to Forty-eighter liberal leadership. The important thing is, however, that re-examination of the whole thesis with the aid of local records has greatly modified the commonly accepted story.

The local approach to history is perhaps even more valuable for the high school teacher of American history than it is for the research historian. As a result of the change in our way of looking at history, the teacher can no longer be content with drilling his students in long lists of presidents, battles, and dates. Understanding of the American past demands that certain generalizations be comprehended—generalizations about great movements which start in the past and still reach into our lives today—the story of the frontier and its eventual disappearance, the growth of stronger national government, the coming of the industrial revolution with its mass production methods, the struggle of farmers and laborers to control big business, the arrival of twoscore immigrant nationalities and their welding into one nation, the rise of the attitudes toward other nations known as isolationism, the Monroe Doctrine, the Open Door and Good Neighbor policies.

These generalizations are ordinarily difficult for young students to grasp, and that is where local history can help. Educators are agreed that it is a sound teaching principle to go from the known to the unknown. They also say that the student can understand generalization best if he is exposed to a great many details which bring out the big principle. The easiest way to teach general American history, then, is to enrich it with local incidents which deal with an environment familiar to the student and which are interesting, colorful, and meaningful. The Illinois State Historical Society understands this and in 1943 issued *A Handbook of Illinois History* by Paul M. Angle and Richard L. Beyer, which outlines

general American history and tells what was going on in Illinois during each period and where Illinois materials can be easily found.

The local approach to history helps add color and meaning to what some youngsters regard as a dull subject. Indian problems and policies of the federal government take on luster if a student lives in a section of Illinois connected with Black Hawk and his war. When the student reads of the canal-building craze of the first half of the nineteenth century, the whole subject has more meaning if he finds that some little stream near his home town once had aspirations to connect the Great Lakes and the Mississippi and that it actually floated a few small steamboats. He then understands the whole subject more readily and finds new interest in and appreciation for New York's Erie Canal or the proposed Pennsylvania system. Similarly, the whole complicated question of railroad building and railroad regulation is approached with fresh zest by a student who knows something about the experience of the Illinois Central or the Alton or the Burlington or the Rock Island in his own community. The pioneering efforts of the Baltimore and Ohio and the lines which became the New York Central and the Pennsylvania, mentioned in the general history texts, now mean more to him, and so also do the building of the Union Pacific and the malodorous Credit Mobilier.

A minor advantage of local history for the teacher is that it can be used to give students a taste of historical research training. Every local community has some manuscript records; most places have a local newspaper with a file going back for several years; and all of them have old people who can be interviewed. Term papers or an extracurricular history club will give opportunities for the student to understand some of the problems of historical research. What is to be done about a newspaper account which does not correspond with other records of the event? How much is to be believed

of an old person's recollections which glorify his own or his family's part in a historical incident?

Local history also has great value for a community. All over the United States we are being subjected to unifying forces—the bathtub makers, the income tax, the moving picture are a few of them. As a result every community is becoming similar to other communities in the country. In general this may be a good thing, but it can make for too much uniformity and mediocrity. One way to avoid this is to emphasize the local history of the community, for each part of the country has its own peculiarities, its own rugged and unusual characters, its own personality. If the people of the community understand their history, they will take new pleasure in living there. Their post offices, public buildings including the schools, and restaurants can be decorated so as to emphasize the rich local lore. Instead of draped classical figures or conventional English coaching scenes, they can feature the Illinois Indians who once had a village site nearby, the first Jesuit missionary, the profane old fur trader who bought "two looks" of land from the red men, the pioneers who broke the sod, the good women who insisted on setting up the first school, the lead miners or the coal miners or the steamboat men, or a dozen other local themes. Color and pathos and humor can be found in any community's background, and skillful use of them makes the community a more distinctive place in which to live. Its young people take new pride in residing there, and such local pride is the basis of the national patriotism which we are all so anxious to see fostered.

If local history is good for the historian and the teacher, for the community and the nation, how can it best be discovered and used? This is the problem of the historical societies of the country. The Massachusetts Historical Society was set up in 1791, more than 150 years ago, and since that time many others have been established. In 1944 there were

at least 1,467 historical societies in the United States, and the state of Illinois reported 37 active societies and 38 less active ones with the Illinois State Historical Society (established in 1899) as the co-ordinating, state-wide organization.

These 1,467 societies differed greatly in form of organization, number of members, financial resources, size of collections, and types of activities. In general, however, all of them were engaged in preserving and popularizing the history of their communities. Nearly all of them held meetings, at least annually. Most of them had collections of historical materials—manuscripts, maps, archives, war records, newspapers, government documents, books, periodicals, illustrations, and museum objects. Many of them operated libraries and museums; some of them erected historical markers, conducted radio programs, put on pageants or pilgrimages; many had publication programs, ranging from reprinting papers read before them in the local newspapers to issuing well designed books.

Despite the great differences among the organizations, there are certain sound principles of good historical society work which apply to most of them. Some of these principles are given here.

THE USE OF MATERIALS

Historical societies collect materials on the past of their communities. They also use these materials to make the communities conscious of their history. Both functions are worth doing, but an active society must emphasize the use activities. Collection is important, and we all want to see better collection activities pursued with energy and according to a systematic plan. But collection alone will not appeal to a community and make it conscious of its past. The historical society must conduct meetings, install attractive museum displays, sponsor a radio program, put up historical markers, issue publications, or take part in other activities which will use its collections to influence the people of the community.

Unless some such educational program is developed, a historical society is likely to suffer from dry rot. Though we may be grateful to even a passively-run society for saving the materials of the past, we shall not understand what it is doing if this program is lacking. And even though one day a more active group might arise to use the materials, we do not want even one generation of people to live in the community without benefit of a useful knowledge of its past.

Before us as I talk is a beautiful example of good use of historical materials. This reconstructed village of New Salem where Lincoln lived from 1831 to 1837 is carrying an eloquent message about this region of Illinois to tens of thousands of people every year. As long ago as 1906 William Randolph Hearst gave this site to the Old Salem Chautauqua Association. People were interested in it and dreamed of what it might become. In 1918 it was made a state park, and in 1932-1933 extensive restoration work was begun by the Illinois State Department of Public Works and Buildings and has been continued at intervals since that time. Now, in the correct surroundings, the historical materials on New Salem which had been collected for more than thirty years previous to the time the village was rebuilt, are being properly used.

Let me emphasize once more that there is no conflict between the functions of collection and use, but that you must have both if you are to have a good historical society.

UNLIMITED MEMBERSHIP

The Massachusetts Historical Society set up in 1791 was planned as a kind of honorific academy. It was thought that local and state historians would esteem membership so highly that they would produce many excellent studies in Massachusetts history. Even today the society has only 160 members, and they are selected with discrimination. The American Antiquarian Society which was organized in 1812 at Worcester, Massachusetts, uses a similar plan, and this society is limited to 200 carefully chosen historians.

While there may be some arguments for having a few of these societies which will reward first-rate work in history, in general the plan of limited membership is not a good one. If a society wishes to collect and disseminate the history of a community it needs a large membership to help locate materials, to carry on an active educational program, and to secure tax support or endowment or both. Membership should be open to anyone who has an interest in the history of the region and will pay his dues. The Missouri State Historical Society (formed in 1898) today leads the historical societies of the nation with a membership of 3,610. Its example should be followed, and every historical society should try ceaselessly to add interested people to its membership roll.

A society can, however, learn something from the elective, academy-type organization. Every attempt should be made to make membership privileges attractive. Not only should a member receive a publication and a cordial invitation to all meetings, but occasionally special privileges should be given him. Previews of museum exhibits for members only or special reserved sections for members at a pageant are some of the things which make people cherish their memberships.

PUBLIC FINANCIAL SUPPORT

Back in 1854 the State Historical Society of Wisconsin received the first continuing appropriation from a state legislature, in this case the munificent sum of \$500 annually. But the state invested more and more heavily in the Society's work, building a choice library of American history which contains some 700,000 volumes, an impressive manuscript collection, an extensive museum, and sponsoring a publication program which has issued more than 100 volumes.

As late as 1939 a small Wisconsin city of about 35,000 embarked upon a historical museum project sponsored by a county historical society. Today this museum is visited by

more than 11,000 people yearly and presents a varied program which reaches the schools of the city and the county in which it is situated. In 1943 the city contributed \$1,500 to the museum's program, and the county gave \$1,300. With one full-time curator, this historical project is doing a remarkably valuable job. And before this development was launched under the sponsorship of the county historical society, it consisted only of a handful of people who got together once or twice a year to hear about the history of the community and paid \$1.00 dues annually to support the work.

I know it is frequently said that a society which accepts public funds must also resign itself to public control. This statement is true, but it need not mean that a society will be run for non-historical purposes or that undesirable political control will be used. No more can we say that a man who gives a historical society a large sum of money will insist upon controlling it in an undesirable manner. A well-run historical society will thrive on public funds just as a well-run public school or a well-run public library thrives on them.

CO-OPERATION OF AMATEURS AND PROFESSIONALS

Historical societies should have as members both enthusiastic amateurs and professional historians. An active society needs much help in many fields. Take the matter of holding a meeting, for example. Who shall be invited to speak and upon what subjects? How shall they be entertained? Who shall make arrangements for the meeting place, for a reading stand, slide projector, or moving picture screen? Who will send out notices to members and invite appropriate guests? Who shall serve on the hospitality committee? Shall there be refreshments afterwards? Who will introduce the speaker? Who will see that stories appear in the newspapers before and after the meeting? If the speakers' papers are to be published, who will edit them and see them through the press?

The multitude of details found in even a rather simple historical activity will make clear how much work is involved. Either enthusiastic amateurs or the professional historians can do all of this, but they can get more done if they will divide the work. Let them both serve on the program planning committee, let the amateurs see to the details of the meeting, and let the professionals take charge of editing the papers for publication.

The historical society which can call on university and college teachers for professional help is fortunate, but even the smallest society has another potential source of support in the high school teachers of history, literature, and social science. They should be enlisted in the work of the society, for they can make important contributions.

CO-OPERATION OF STATE AND LOCAL SOCIETIES

Most states now possess a central state historical organization and a variety of regional, county, and municipal societies. The state-wide and local societies should work together. The two groups are almost certain to compete with each other to a limited extent in the collection of materials. But each has contributions to make to the other. The state society probably can afford a better trained staff and better plant and equipment. The local society knows its community better and can reach its members more easily than the state society.

The state society should try to strengthen the local societies. It can do this in part by moving its annual meeting about the state as the Illinois State Historical Society is doing, thus focusing attention on the history of a different portion of the state each year and upon the work which the local historical society of that region is doing.

The degree of co-operation between local and state societies varies throughout the nation. In some states the whole arrangement is purely informal; in others the local societies are auxiliary members of the state organization, and they

receive the state society's publications and have a voting delegate at its meetings; in still others it is possible for a person to join both local and state society by paying a single reasonable fee.

In some cases the state and local societies can agree upon what their fields of collection should be and avoid competing with each other. Then the state society may run the central library, the collection of newspapers and manuscripts, and the publication program, and leave the museum and frequent meetings to the local society. In general, however, there is likely to be some overlapping of functions, and it will not hurt anything so long as the state and local groups have mutual respect for each other.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ATTRACTING YOUNG PEOPLE

A discouraging feature of historical society work is that it so infrequently attracts the younger people of a community. An active society will do all it can to reverse this tendency. Age is not always measured by years, of course, but an active historical society needs some of the enthusiasm and verve usually found in youngsters.

Young people should be invited to take part in the society's program, to read papers, to help do some of the work. In addition, a direct attack on the schools should be furthered. Essay contests do some good, and history clubs set up in the schools, with their own publication on a state-wide level, are paying big dividends in Texas, New York, and the Pacific Northwest. Many states require some teaching of state history in grade or high schools, and the historical society can help both teachers and pupils with this work. If the society conducts a museum there are unusual opportunities to work out close relations with the schools and to see that students visit the museum in systematic fashion.

A society situated in a college or university community has special opportunities. There may be a class in state his-

tory which can be persuaded to work with the society and which will later provide active leaders for the local historical societies in various communities.

THE VALUE OF PUBLICITY

A historical society tries to make its community conscious of its useful historical background. The people who take part in most of the society's activities know about the community's history, but many more citizens can be attracted to this program and can get something from it if the society employs good public relations methods.

The state historical society should have a news bulletin which is sent to all the newspapers of the state and should distribute additional news releases when necessary. The smaller society should be sure to see that all of its activities are properly presented in the local papers; it may be a good thing to get the local editor on the society's board in order to insure that good coverage will be received.

Publicity, of course, can be cheap and sensational. A historical society must insist that all stories in the papers concerning its program are true and accurate. They must emphasize the history of the region and the activities of the society, and must not be devoted to glorifying any official of the society or any one group of its backers.

Publicity involves more than newspaper space. There is also the radio, and best of all the word-of-mouth publicity furnished by an interested membership and an active program. If the society is serving a useful function in the community, it will naturally attract public notice, but it should also consciously cultivate good publicity.

THE NEED FOR A DEFINITE PLAN

An all-important committee found in far too few historical societies is a Planning Committee. The best historical brains of the society, perhaps supplemented by outside experts, should be drawn on to set up an outline history of the

region. The outline should be as full and meaningful as possible and should include political, economic, social, cultural, and intellectual history. It can treat such topics as the Indians, the fur trade, the first settlers, the Civil War, the rise of agriculture and industry. It should cover the region served by the society and regional subdivisions as well, and there should be generous attention to the biographical approach throughout.

The outline set up should then be used in laying out the meeting program of the society. Papers should be assigned to authors in accordance with the outline, not chronologically of course, but systematically so that each meeting will see a real contribution made to the known history of the region. If such a program is used over a five or ten-year period, it is amazing how much worth-while work can be accomplished. Such a long-range program insures an excellent publication output also.

The outline can be used as a guide for an active collection program for the society. Books, newspapers, manuscripts, illustrations, and museum objects which will furnish the raw materials of the history outlined can be systematically sought. The society will not sit idly by and let its collections be determined by what is offered to it.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AN ACTIVE PROGRAM

To reverse the saying of the frontiersmen concerning the Indians, the only good historical society is a *live* historical society—one that carries on a vigorous and active program.

When Judge James Hall became president of the Antiquarian and Historical Society of Illinois formed at Vandalia in 1827, he understood this principle. He soon appointed committees on (1) antiquities, (2) aborigines, (3) national origins and early difficulties of the first settlers, (4) French colonists, (5) biographical notices of extraordinary persons, (6) climate and diseases, (7) geology, (8) "capabilities of the State for Internal Navigation," (9) agriculture, commerce,

and manufactures, and (10) judicial history. Unfortunately for Illinois, Judge Hall decided to move to Cincinnati in 1833, and with his inexhaustible energy gone, the pioneer historical society of Illinois languished and died.

But the enthusiastic little judge with his busy pen had understood how to run a historical society. He would have agreed with the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who in 1791 wrote: "We intend to be an *active*, not a *passive*, literary body; not to lie waiting like a bed of oysters . . . but to *seek* and *find*, to *preserve* and *communicate* literary intelligence, especially in the historical way."

The principles just put forth are easily stated and easily understood; they are not, however, easily carried out. A historical society is an intricate undertaking which dips into many fields of endeavor, both past and present. To be run well it requires both skill and energy. But if the historical interest of a community can be properly stimulated, if the various elements—professional and amateur, young and old—can be persuaded to work together, much good can be done for the community. The motto of the Museum of the City of New York might well be adopted by any local historical society: "I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives; I like to see a man live so that his place will be proud of him."

FROM ENGLAND TO ILLINOIS IN 1821

The Journal of William Hall

EDITED BY JAY MONAGHAN

WILLIAM Hall was the owner of a large water-mill in England in the early nineteenth century. God, he said, had blessed him with a wife and nine children. In 1821, the "Care & Anxiety" which these same blessings brought him in thickly-populated Britain influenced him to remove to America. In the Illinois of 1817 and 1818 an "English Settlement" had been started in Edwards County by two Englishmen, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower. Most of the settlers were people of moderate means and more than average intelligence. Their community became famous for its cultural attainments in the backwoods. William Hall had the education and philosophical interests which might be expected to draw him to the English Settlement. He particularly enjoyed the study of ornithology and botany. With his large family and a servant, Thomas Ayres, he embarked in London on the ship *Electra* on February 25, 1821. Almost four months elapsed before they reached their destination.

On shipboard the Halls traveled in steerage. They took their own supplies—meat, fowl, cereals, sweets, beverages, etc.—and cooked their meals as best they could in the vessel's hold. When the provisions in steerage ran low the captain sent down a pig and other foodstuffs.

The ship cruised against unfavorable winds for two and a half weeks along the southern coast of England. Finally, on March 14, the passengers watched Lizard Light disappear

and England was left behind forever. On April 28, they anchored in Philadelphia. With a wagon hired for his wife Betsy and the children, William Hall walked most of the way to Pittsburgh, collecting birds with his shotgun and noting the beauties of nature. At night the party stopped at taverns known by the figure that hung from the front door—at the sign of the Cross Keys, the Spread Eagle, etc. Though literacy was increasing in America, it was necessary to use graphic signs for the benefit of many who were still unable to read. At Pittsburgh the Halls joined with other emigrants to purchase a boat—an ark—and the party of twenty-two persons floated down the Ohio to Shawneetown, Illinois. From there the Hall family proceeded to the vicinity of Wanborough where they settled.

William Hall kept a journal during the entire trip from London to Illinois and continued it for several years after he had established his new home. This account, written in a little brown leather-bound book, has been carefully preserved through the years and is now in the possession of Hall's great granddaughters, Miss Bertha Bowman and Mrs. Ella Bowman Floyd of Rosemead, California. To them, the Illinois State Historical Society is indebted for permission to print this interesting human document. William Hall's acute observations, his descriptions of the people he met on shipboard and on the road across Pennsylvania, the prices paid for supplies, for wagon hire and tavern accommodations—all make this journal of more than usual interest. The details of everyday living in the English Settlement in the 1820's—building a home, raising crops and livestock, financial transactions—make equally worth-while and refreshing reading. Tragedy also appears. The death of Morris Birkbeck by drowning has been told in other accounts but it is tinted with new realism in the simple annals of his friend's journal. The accidental shooting of the author's son Ned by another son makes a story that is hard to forget.

Because of the length of Hall's account, only half of it is printed in this issue of the *Journal*. The remaining half, together with some genealogical data on the Hall family—which was furnished by Miss Bowman—will appear in the June number. The exact spellings and punctuations used by the author have been carefully observed in reprinting this account. Readers should be especially warned about his habit of writing sums of money in his expense accounts without using any decimal point. The original journal was written in ink, and additions and corrections were made in pencil—apparently by Hall himself. To enable the reader to distinguish these penciled additions from the original version, they are here enclosed in brackets. The following account is an exact printing of the original journal left by methodical William Hall.

REASONS FOR QUITTING ENGLAND

1st. The difficulty of providing for the numerous Family with which God has blessed me & the prospect of removing that load of Care & Anxiety which fills the Breasts of Parents on that Account.

2d To escape with them from that Aggregation of Oppression, Tyranny, Hypocrisy, & Misery which prevailed in England, which I left with its prisons crouded with Debtors & Criminals its Workhouses filled with Paupers, its Road covered with Mendicants & Persons begging for employment its Farmers & Tradesmen daily sinking into poverty owing to the imense burden of taxation & Labor which crushes them to the very ground while their insolent Oppresors were revilling in every Species of Luxury & treating with contempt & derision those Classes from whose Labour they derived all their means of enjoyment

3 The proud hope of establishing my family in Freedom & Independance, of enjoying the fruits of our industry in peace & Security certain of having no part of them taken

from us without our consent in short of living in the complete enjoyment of Civil & religious Liberty.

4th The gratifying prospect of pointing out the same road to my distressed Friends & relation by which they might also make their escape from the same Oppression under which I groaned should I be fortunate enough to establish myself according to my own expectation

5th. That as there could be no prospect of amelioration in England without a total subversion of all the existing relations of society & Government the convulsion caused by such a change would almost to a certainty involve persons in my situation in total destruction & all the Horrors of civil war, my sons would be pressed for Soldiers, & My Daughters! for altho some individuals might rise to Glory & Eminence in the Contest should it prove successful yet the prosecution of it must be destructive to every thing like domestic virtue & Religion in the rising Generation & these are the only bases upon which either present or future happiness can be found[ed] & should the issue prove unfortunate the comple[te] Slavery & degradation of all the inferior Orders of Society must be the consequence until we literally presented what we are very fast approaching to, the prospect of a Land of tyrants & a den of slaves.

LIST OF STORES TAKEN ON BOARD

		lb
Beef	consumed	180
Pork	abt 40 lb left	190
Suett	consumed	20
Hams	2 Baked, consumed	24
Fouls	15 Do	30
Eggs	300 Do	
Flour (more should been taken)	Do	112
Biscuits (near 2 Cut lef)		330
Potatoes	3 Sacks consumed	

Onions	1 Rope	consumed (not enough)
Rice	28	Do
Gritts	1 Bushel	mostly consumed
Rusks	16 good loaves	dosed in an Oven all consumed
Tea	4 lb	consumed
Coffee	3 lb	Do
Sugar	28 lb	consumed
Plums	24 lb	Do
Jams & Jellys	28 lb Hony 14 lb,	Pickles,
Salt, Pepper, Mustard	Vinegar	
Spirits	2½ Galls. Wine 4 doz.	Table Wear 4 doz.
	Utensils	
Herring, Cod, Bread,	10 Mutton Dartmth.	

Sunday Feby 25 1821

Went wth my Family on board the Electra Captn Robinson bound for Philadelphia, my Family consisted of myself Wife Nine Children & Thos. Ayres. Monday Lay in ye Docks

Tuesday Feby 27th

Towed to Gravesend by the Steam Vessel Victory. Mr. Everest came on board in the Morning & went [wth] to Gravesend I went on shore wth Tom & the two Eldest Boys to appear at the Office Mr. E: H Scott came on board wth us

Wednesday Feby 28

Mr. Everest came on board to take leave the Steam Vessel towed us to the Nose where she left us

Thursday Mar 1st.

Wind adverse proceeded to Isle of Sheppey Anchored in the Eveng.

Friday March 2d

Weighed Anchor abt 8 o Clock got as far as Deal where our Pilot left us cast Anchor in the Eveng A Restless night

Saturday Mar 3—1821

Wind right in our teeth every prospect of remaining here all Day

Sunday Mar 4th

Wind still adverse, dispatched a Letter to W: T: which the Dover Pilot took charge of to put into the Post Office

Monday Mar 5th

Wind fair weighed Anchor this Morning & proceeded as far as

Tuesday Mar 6

Wind contrary All seasick

[Wednesday Mar 7]

Wind still against us Sickness continues & a dreadful sickness it is Bobs definition gives the best Idea of it he says he felt as if all his Joints were half an inch asunder

Thursday Mar 8th

Wind still contrary after beating abt. all Night we find we have been driving back 30 Miles & are now of Cowes, this proves a Mistake we find it Torkay where after taking a Pilot on board we are unable to get in

Friday Mar 9th

After beating all last Night at Sea we got into Dartmouth Harbour in the Evening to our great Joy

Saturday Mar 10th

Passed a Calm Night on Shore on both Sides the Harbour next day the Country very hilly & very beautiful. Carts are seldom used the Corn is harvested & the Dung carried out on Horses Backs

Sunday Mar 11—1821

Still in Harbour Went to St. Petrop[']s Church at the Mouth of ye Harbour, heard a very impressive Sermon from a Young Clergyman named Glubb



BEGINNING OF THE ROUTE TAKEN BY WILLIAM HALL
IN A SAILING VESSEL ON HIS WAY TO ILLINOIS. TWO AND
A HALF WEEKS WERE SPENT ON THE WATER BETWEEN
LONDON AND LIZARD-HEAD.

Monday Mar 12th

Still Stationary Walked to see a Mill at Dartmouth with a Mr Follett a Shipwright there with whom I drank tea in the Eveng

Tuesday Mar 13th

Remain in Harbour, finished a letter to my Brother Charles Went ashore on the opposite side the Harbour saw a Water Mill got out of Harbour abt. 11 P:M:

Wednesday Mar 14 1821

Wind fair. Off the Lizard Light House abt. 7 o Clock took a farewell look of England most likely for ever. Betsey & the children much better. The Captain took his departure from the Lizard at 8 P:M: the Ship running at 8 Knotts an Hour we spent a very rolling restless Night

Thursday Mar 15th

All sea sick again Wind high but fair Ship running 9 Knotts

Friday Mar 16

Spent a very rough Night Wind has veered [to] & we are obliged to Sail upon tacks consequently if we sail quite as fast we do not make so much way

Saturday Mar 17th

A fine Day We do not sail very fast

Sunday Mar: 18th

Strong wind since one A:M: we are getting on well

Monday Mar 19th

Fair wind Ship going abt. 8 Knotts

Tuesday Mar 20th

Fair wind Ship going abt. 5 Knotts Lat: 43''39. Long: 23''30 very calm fine afternoon, Ship [only] going between 2 & 3 Knotts

Wednesday Mar 21st

[Rough Sea.] Calm fine Day getting on very Slowly
between 2 & 3 Knotts only [Hour]

Thursday Mar 22d

Rough Sea

Friday Mar 23

Very rough Weather Sea Sick again

Saturday 24

Rather Calmer we have made little way these last two
or three Days

Sunday Mar 25th

Blowing Weather Wind adverse

Monday 26

Calmer in Latitude 42''45 Long 30.

Tuesday 27

Fine Day but wind contrary we make little Way

Wednesday 28

Little progress

Thursday 29

Do

Friday Mar 30

We make little way

Saturday 31st

Do

Sunday April 1st

Rather better

Monday 2d

Wind fair in mornng Lat 42 27 Long 38''46

Tuesday 3

Very fine Day getting on abt. 6 Knotts

Wednesday Apr. 4

Blowing weather

Thursday April 5th 1821

Made little progress

Friday 6th

Fine wind getting on at 8 Knotts

Saturday 7th

Fine, clear, Cold Calm Day making very little progress

Sunday 8th

Fine Day

Monday 9th

Cold, Clear, Calm Day

Tuesday 10th

Very wet Day

Wednesday 11th

Fine Day Latitude 41''45 Long 57

Thursday 12th

Very fine Calm Day Wind sprung up in the afternoon carried us thro the Night at 8 Knotts Thermometer 65

Friday 13

Wet Morning 41:48—63

Saturday 14th

Cold unpleasant Day Wind ahead

Sunday April 15 1821

Wet Morning, fine after. Wind fair but very little of it, untill afternoon when it became contrary & blew hard all Night with a heavy Sea, one of which struck the Vessel & pitched Wm., Edwd., & James out of an upper birth upon the Floor, fortunately they received no Injury

Monday 16

Very cold, windy Day, Thermometer 38. on the 12th it was at 65 Wind blowg strong & unfavourable so far from making any progress we could hardly prevent the Ship from

being driven back. owing to the bold & heavy Seas breaking over it was very unpleasant to Keep the Deck. Lat 40'' 50

Tuesday 17

Wind fair Ship going at 10 Knotts till after 12 P:M: when a very heavy Squall with Rain came on the worst we have had yet the Wind & Rain was tremendous. The Rain heavier than I had before entertained any Idea of

Wednesday April 18th 1821

Cold, Foggy weather

Thursday 19th

Cold Day Wind adverse Lat: 40''3. Long. 67.

Friday 20th

Cold & Clear Wind ahead in Long: 68

Saturday 21st

Wind fair getting on abt 6 Knotts Long 69 15 Lat. 40''48

Sunday April 22

Easter Sunday, Wind fell off abt. 7 A:M: getting on very slowly. The Captn. sent a pig to the Steerage [Passengers] the Shares amounted to 3 lb pr head, we where beginning to grown short of fresh Provisions. We drank of [our] last Bottle to day to the [our] health [& that] of the Maker my much loved Mother[,] perhaps the last I shall ever taste made by [the] her hands altho I woud fain hope not the time may yet arrive when I I shall have the unspeakable pleasure of again meeting her & welcoming he to [in] America. Numbers of the Stormy Petterel [Petrel] (procellaria Pelagria) came round the Vessel. the much resemble the Swallow both in Flight, Size, & Appearance they follow in the wake of the Ship picking up Crumbs, or any thing which may be thrown out of the Vessel. The Sailors call them Mother Carys Chickens & they are very amusing little creatures

The most magnificent Spectacle I ever beheld [saw] was the Setting Sun of this Evening we are evidently getting into a finer & clearer atmosphere, the Sun set just as a fog was rising & afforded the appearance of the Conflagration of a great City with the Smoke of the Flames rolling towards a high bold Shore to the windward the heights of which appeared as if covered with Trees. As the Sun descended the Flames appeared decreasing till at last nothing was to be seen [appeared] but the glowing Embers with here & there a Spot where the Materials of the Conflagration not being quite exhausted the Fire seemed bursting out [forth] afresh the Appearance was so exact that nothing seemed left for the Imagination, save the conviction that no City we have any Idea of could have afforded materials for so vast a Conflagration it was certainly the most grand & sublime spectacle I ever beheld

[Saturday 21]

[Spoke a ship to Boston This is the fourth Ship we have spoken]

Monday April 23d. 1821

Fine, Calm, Day, a gentle Breeze came on about 4 P.M: which wafted us forward at abt. 4 Knotts an Hour. A large shoal of Porpoises passed to leeward of the Vessel tumbling & sporting abt. in a very curious manner.

Tuesday

Delightful fine Day with a very gentle Breeze we are going abt. 5 Knotts Consumed the last piece of of our Beef & all our Flour, our Sugar has been gone this week & we have been obliged to the Captn. for a fresh supply. We also eat the last of our Fowls

Wednesday April 25

Beautiful fine morning. Wind as yesterday. A Pilot came on board. The Light House on Cape Henlopen distant 25 miles at 7 A.M. A sort of lark perched on our rigging of a

different kind to any I had before seen. Off the light House
abt. 10 A:M: & came to Anchor in in Delaware Bay abt. 8
P:M:

Thursday Apr 26

Wind blowing fresh from N: Weighed abt. 7 A:M. Mr.
Furstenwerder the Cabin Passenger betrayed such violent
symptoms of Insanity last night that it was necessary to
handcuff Him Numbers of Coots in the Bay. The Bay so wide
till you come to Port Penn that little of the Coast on either
side was to be seen even with a Glass. saw that it is very
finely wooded. from Port Penn to the Pea Patch¹ (a Fortifica-
tion on an Island). there are some fine Farms on Jersey side
& some beautiful Meadows on the Delaware here & there a
Place where the Woods were open enough to admit a sight
of them

From the Pea Patch to Newcastle is some beautiful
River Scenenery it lies chiefly through a large bend of the
River the hollow of which is on the Delaware side which
contains many open Spotts of Grass lands rising gently from
the Water the Convexity of the Jersey Side is mostly Wood
which consist of fine straight high Trees with apparently lit-
tle Underwood from Newcastle to Wilmington is the most
beautifull Scenery on the River the high Land of Christine
form a fine elevated back ground & the Farms & Houses on
the Slopes are very fine, Anchored of Wilmington at about
8 P:M

Friday April 26 [27]

Weighed anchor abt. 4 this morning but did not sail till
after Sunrise which afforded us an Oportunity of beholding
the charming situation of the town of Wilmington & the
adjoining Country Wilmington is situated on a fine Slope
the land rising gently from the River the Town & Vicinity
placed among fine Woods of beautiful Timber, just above the

¹ Pea Patch Island, located at the head of Delaware Bay, was fortified by the U. S. gov-
ernment during the War of 1812.

Town the slopes are studded with neat Farm Houses & beautiful Orchards the fields are divided by rail Fences surrounded with fine Woods the Peach & Cherry Trees were in full bloom the Pears just coming out but the Apples scarcely budding, a fortnight or three weeks hence they will be in bloom & woods getting green the banks of the river will be beautiful indeed, The Jersey side is quite Flat but wooded to the Water Edge The Wind being against us & the Tide running down we anchored abt 10 A.M: of a pretty little Place called Marcus Hook, Observed some Fishermen & hailing them they brought some Shad to the Vessel of which I bought two (which I had seen caught) at the price they asked a Quarter Dollar they weighed abt 10 lb & I thought them cheap but I afterward bought another for half the money They are a most beautiful fish of the abdominal kind order 4 Genus 20 (Carp) they are fine eating & grow to a large size they are the colour of Dace & shape of Trout in full season only rather thicker the Head very small & thin the under Jaw rather longer than the Upper. Weighed Anchor abt 4 P.M: Past Chester and anchored of Hog Island in the Eveng. Scenery still continues fine on the Delaware side. Jersey flat.

Saturday [28]

Weighed anchor at 10 A.M. past Fort Mifflin a beautiful fortification but not near so extensive as the Pea Patch the Jersey Side improves & the whole Scenery of the River most beautiful particularly as you approach the City the big Woodlands behind it form a most Magnificent back ground the City² is very large but there is a want of spires. Anchored of the Wharf abt 12 & went on shore in the [Eveng] Afternoon & had a first sight of this most beautiful City returned to the ship & slept on board

[Sunday Monday Apr. 29th]

² Philadelphia, Pa.

CHARACTERS

Having now crossed the Atlantic & been cooped up Days with my fellow Passengers I am in some degree enabled to give some account of their [respective Characters]. Our Crew consisted of 10 Sailors, two Mates, & the Captain with Cook & Steward.

The Cabin Passengers were a Mrs Paul, her Son & Daughter & a German Gentleman whose name was Furstenwerder. In the Steerage were a Mrs Gail from Brechin with two Children, Mr Hooker & Wife from Canterbury, Mr & Mrs Hibert who had Kept a Bookseller & Stationer shop a young woman name Edwards from Wareham a Frenchman Monsr Gruchet who had been Leutnt. Col: in Bonapartes Army, A young Scotchman C: Moncriss Pate, from Leith Mr Barber an American. A young man Gottchalk probably a Jew. from London an Irishman named Ryan A Plain, Countryman from Kent of the name of Marsh & my own family consisting of My Wife & Self 9 Children & Thomas Ayres. In giving you some acct of their Characters I will begin with our Captain who is a thorough Seaman uncommonly perceiving & attentive to his business, & very steady & civil in his behaviour to his passengers to myself particularly Kind & obliging. The first Mate Mr Harris very modest & obliging in his deportment & appears to be a good hearted Man. the other Mate Mr Michels is a young Man who has served his time with Capt Robinson & we found him very civil & obliging. these three were Americans as were two of the Sailors the rest of whom were British, the Cook & Steward were Blacks, the whole Crew very steady & well behaved, Of the Cabin Passengers I of course saw nothing but when upon deck they were very complaisant & communicative & my Wife & Mrs Paul soon got rather intimat she is going out to her husband a builder who is waiting for her at Philadelphia. The German seems a very good kind of Man & much interested in the fate of his emigrant Countrymen. The most

prominent Character in our Steerage was Lieut. Col. Gruchet who had served in most of Bonapartes Campaigns he had been with him in Egypt, Italy, Germany, Russia, & lastly at Waterloo I never saw one man so devoted to another as he appears to be to his Empereur as he calls him, he possesses all the characteristic Vivacity of his Countryman & no small share of ther Vanity singing, laughing, Mimicking, dancing up an down Stairs all day seldom 10 Minutes elapsed without our being sensible he was among us. having been often at Sea before he was not affected with Sickness & amused himself much at the expence of those who were, but at the latter end of the voyage he was woefully in the dumps & no one on the Ship I am convinced suffered so much from impatience to get ashore as he did. Mr Barber is a Mechanic [but has] settled in Philadelphia but is a very sensible, good natured Modest, well informed Man we found him very Kind in assisting in fixing our Boxes &c & in assisting us while we were Sick, he remin[ds me] very much of Lester & I was very much pleased, & informed from his conversation. he has read much & been a good deal of the Eastern States & though not polished exceedingly well bred, attacking instantly any conversation which might be in the least degree unpleasant to female Ears & I will venture to say that in no place was greater decorum observed in that respect that in our Steerage.

Monday Apr 30[th]

Removed from the ship to Mr Gauls who kindly offered us the use of 4 Empty rooms in his house which we occupied together with Mr & Mrs Hebert & Mr & Mrs Hooker. We made a general purse into which I put 8 twelveths, the whole expences of all our Housekeeping during the 8 days we remained at Mrs Gauls amounted to not more than £18

I dined with Mr Vaughan, with Mr Griffith & spent an Evening with Mr. Hulme & Capt. Robinson during the time I remained at Philadelphia wher I was uniformly treate

[Tuesday May 1] with great Friendship & Kindness. The Environs of the City are very beautiful towards Frankford & the Banks of the Skuylkil where Mr Trall has a beautiful villa which I visited & also the Water Works on that river which by means of Steam at present supply Philad. with water, but an immense Dam has been constructed across the river to gain a fall on which to erect Water Wheels to work the Pumps, Steam being found very expensive

[Wednesday May 2

[Thursday 3

[Friday 4

[Saturday 5

[Sunday 6]

Monday 7

Delightful Day took our departure from the City Mr Barber accompanies us the first Stage to Radnor Township 11 Miles Tavern charges 262 Mr. & Mrs. Paul their Son & Daughter accompanied us in another waggon

Tuesday 8

Delightful, after a charming walk of 26 Miles we slept at a Tavern in the Woods on the Old Lancaster road near a mile stone which is marked 38 Miles from P: We obtained with our Guns on the Road 12 Specimens of Birds some of them of most beautiful Plumage the Country we passed through remarkably fine, particularly the Brandywine in the Neighbourhood of Downing Town delightfully situated on the Brandywine River or Creek as its here called

[Wednesday] Thursday 10th.

Fine Day walked forward to Lancaster over a Bridge over the Conestoga which is a beautiful stream about the width of the Mole at Leatherhead, we had 4 different Kinds of fresh fish at Breakfast this Mornng, Shad, Eels, Cat fish & Suckers, the Country abt. Lancaster uncommonly beautiful, surpassing any we had before seen which I thought impos-

sible the Wheat looking very well, the people busy planting Corn, the Orchards in full Bloom. Slept this Night at a fine Tavern the Buck, within 3 miles of little York, we passed the Susquehanna at Columbia over a bridge $1\frac{1}{4}$ Miles in length, the river shallow breaking over rocks, the Banks high & steep but wooded to the waters edge except in places where the rock appear among the trees upon the whole very romantic & picturesque Tavern Charges 2 dollars. Children well

Wednesday

Fine Day passed thro a fine fertile, & well cultivated Country through hill & dale Woods & Streams, Chester & Lancaster Counties are said to be the Gardens of the U:S: They are indeed remarkably fine the Buildings, Mills &c very well built and uncommonly fine. Tavern charges 175

Friday 11

Fine Day. Went thro Little York the situation very fine the hills rather bolder the corn looking well & the land well cultivated Slept at the Cross Keys (Gett.)³ Charges 3 Doll

Saturday 12

Some thunder with rain in the Morning went thro the woods to Grighams just among the first Mountains saw the Effects of a hurricane among the Woods Slept at a fine Tavern about 7 Miles fr: Chambersburgh

Sunday 13th May

Started at abt 10 Went thro Chambersburgh to Loudon⁴ where we slept Loudon is a most romantic & beautiful Spot at the foot of the Cove Mountain upon a romantic & beautiful Stream called the West Conecojig⁵ (we passed the East at Chambersburgh)

³ Gettysburg, Pa.

⁴ Fort Loudon, Pa.

⁵ W. Conococheaugue Creek.

Monday 14th

Ascended the Cove Mountain & from its ridge beheld McConnells Town with its pretty wooden church & octagonal spire the Town is situated in a Sweet Valley & the approach to it remarkably beautiful from thence we passed over Scrub Ridge & Sidling Hill to Mahaffeys tavern a log house where we slept the Night

Tuesday May 15

In our way to Bloody Run⁶ we saw two Musters of Rifle Men many of them marching with sticks only but all expert in the use of the Rifle we crossed the Juniata before our arrival at Bloody Run over a new covered bridge at a fine Tavern in a most beautiful situation on the Road on the Banks of the River, just beyond Bloody Run is the finest close Scenery I ever beheld the river seems abt. 60 Yds wide & runs rippling over ledges of Rocks between high precipitous Mountains covered with Trees thro which are seen the masses fragments bare only in some small spots where the face of the Rock is quite perpendicular the view is here uncommonly impressive. We passed on to Bedford over a new stone Bridge & here the scenery is very fine & you soon get a view of Bedford beautifully situated in a fine basin among the hills, upon the Juniata, The situation reminded me most forcibly of Dorking & Box hill⁷ but verry far beyond it it fully equals it in beauty & is far superior in magnificence. the Mountain much higher the River far broader & more beautiful & the Timber much finer. Bedford is by far the finest situation I ever beheld & seems most admirably adapted for the Seat of Science & the Muses & for persons addicted to hunting situated among Woods abounding in Game, Deer, & Squirrels We stopped the night at the Spread Eagle about half a mile beyond the Town The Meadows here when they

⁶ Everett, Pa.

⁷ Dorking and Box Hill, located in Sussex, England, were noted for their beauty. The latter place received its name from its famous box trees.

get to be enclosed with line fences will be very beautifull they are of considerable width on the west Bank of the beautifull Juniaty which unconstrained by Art is left free to meander amongst them in various Channels

Wednesday May 16th 1821

Walked forward this morning before the waggons to Andersons Tavern abt. a Mile & half from the top of the Allegany & a misty rain coming on waited three Hours for the arrival of the waggons which I by no means regretted as it afforded me an opportunity of an interesting conversation with a young man (the Brother of the Landlord) who was a hunter as are most of the People on these Mountains he shewed me his Rifle with which he shot the bore of it was very small carrying a ball 80 of which go to the pound He described the Bears as very large some of them weighing 300 lbs they are hunted with Dogs for in the Alleghany when there are no Caves they make to the trees where they are approached & shot by the hunters who always take the precaution of reloading before they go near them as when wounded they are very desperate, at other times they are not at all dangerous

They also shoot them in there dens into which he says there is no danger of entering with a lighted torch but should that by any means be extinguished the Bear instantly rushes forward & the only means of safety for the pursuer is to fall flat on his face when the Bear will pass by or over him

Deer are not so plentiful as formerly but he says they kill enough in the season to last them thro' the year. I was surprized that so small a Bullet should be used for killing such large animals but he says he can make sure of killing them at 200 yds. distance they also shoot Squirrels, Rabbits & even Woodcocks with the same Riffle seldom touching any part even of the latter except the head. he says he can make sure of hitting a dollar 3 times out of 5 at 200 yds & a 25 Ct.

Piece at 100 In my walk hither I found the hepatica both Pink & blue growing in the Woods & also the Violet they of course are not double as in our Gardens but are the same plants Vegetation is uncommonly backward the Oaks not even budding & the leaves of Sugar Maple & Chestnut only just appear. We stopped between this & Bedford at Shelsburgh a new town which is rising in a pretty Valley among the hills where we were told that the maple sugar which is manufactured amongst these Mountains is almost the only sugar used in the Neighbourhood it is procured from the maple trees by boring them & inserting a Spile in the sap which runs from them which is received into a small trough placed under it & when a sufficient quantity of liquor is collected it is refined in the Woods at places called Sugar Camps by boiling & the quality of the Sugar is in proportion to the perfection of the operation The mist having partially cleared of we were afforded an opportunity of enjoying a glimpse of the prospect in our passage to the Summit of the Mountain, immense Mountains scattered at random as far as the Eye could reach with cultivated spots in the Valleys, & clearings at almost every Spot where the nature of the Ground would allow it. The prospect was truly beautiful grand, & magnificent but the smoothness of the outline caused by the Forests with which all the Mountains were covered even to the Ridges of their Summit's altho in many places nearly perpendicular & quite pointed detracted very much from its sublimity, had some of these mountain been divested of their clothing the View would have been every thing that could be desired in Mountain Scenery as it was it excited emotions in my mind never felt in such a degree before. I stood at one place among immense fragments of Stones with the noblest Oaks & Chesnuts standing around me the Ground strewn with the Trunks of those which had flourished in past Ages in every stage of decomposition & even those still growing exhibited every appearance of approach-

ing dissolution the blasted Top the withered branch & the hollow Trunk A few years will prostrate them without the assistance of the American Axe & as there is very little undergrowth future Ages will perhaps doubt their having existed as they now do the existence of the immense Caledonian Forest mentioned by the Roman authors. Rain now again coming on I walked on to tavern where we intended passing the night with an intention of returning at day break & enjoying the sublime prospect of sunrise among these Mountains should the weather be propitious. On arriving at the tavern I found a person (Mr. Kidd) from England & his wife an American Lady who intended proceeding to the Prairies, We spent the Evening in an elegant room at one End of which stood a very good Piano on which several tunes were played by Miss Paul a young Lady of our Party very much to our Gratification.

Thursday May 17—1821

Very wet morning so that I am completely disappointed of the pleasure I promised myself in returning to the Mountain and addressing a Letter to my much valued Friend A: T: & the hurry & bustle of a Tavern where 30 or 40 Persons are passing backward & forward but ill accord with the feelings excited on such an occasion. We started abt. 9 & passed thro' Woods to Stoys Town just before we reached which we passed a romantic stream called Stoney Creek which we were informed contained Trout red spotted as we were told were all the Trout upon the higher Mountains. Below they are said to be black & Silver spotted perhaps our Grayling I had no opportunity of seeing either. After leaving Stoys Town which is beautifully situated upon the slope of a Hill, We passed several enchanting Spotts in the Mountain, Bottoms to Laurel hill on the top of which at a Tavern we got in late & it rained very heavily This Tavern is not of the first order but the people are very civil & with good fires & a tolerable Supper we made shift to pass the Night tolerably comfortably

Friday 18th

Walked forward to Laughlins Town which is beautifully situated in a small valley with a Stream running thro' it, proceeded after up Chesnut Ridge to Ligonier another delightfully situated place in a Mountain Valley, After ascending another Mountain we crossed the Lealhanna⁸ (a Creek) by a covered bridge among the finest Scenery imaginable The River foaming among the fragments of Rock which have fallen into the Valley from precipitous Mountains which surround it, Wandering amongst these Mountains is most delightful The Timber is remarkably large much more so than on the eastern Side, There are thousands of Spotts which by judicious selection of Trees to be left standing might be made the most delightful Situations for Country Seats imaginable. The variety of Wild Flowers is very great & the Mountains abound with Deer & other Game, & the Rivers contain Trout & other Fish. We found many Flowers here which are cultivated in our english Gardens Two Kinds of Hepatica, blue & pink Four of Violets purple, blue, yellow & white The Solomons Seal, Veratrum Nigrum, is very common, Columb[in]e & Golden Rod also The Sugar Maple abounds in the Woods & most of the Sugar consumed in the Neighbourhood is made from it, the price is from 6 to 8 Cents pr lb. After passing the Lealhanna & walking along above a most delightful Valley where we caught glimpses of the River thro' the naked Stems of the tall Trees, among which the Cornus tree was spreading its broad white flowers,⁹ we came to some Iron Works which were supplied with Ore from the Mountains, And passing thro' Youngs Town thro a country abounding in small hills we came to Miles Tavern a log House under repair & were all obliged to sleep in a large room made use of as a Granary. the worst accommodation we have met with & highest Charges I was here charged 50 Cts for an 8 lb Loaf

⁸ Loyalhanna Creek.

⁹ Popularly known as the dogwood.

Saturday May 19th

Frosty walked forwd to Greensburgh which is prettily situated on the side of a hill the Country from this to Servers Tavern where we slept is very singular it is covered with small hills nearly touching each other at their bases it is very finely timbered indeed the trees are much larger on the western side the mountains. here are innumerable fine sequestered & charming rural situations for the erections of Country Seats & Parks the hills are adorned with farm houses with their beautiful Orchards but their System of Agriculture is very bad 1st Corn 2 Oats 3 Wheat 4 Rye then laid down with Clover 3 or 4 Years & the course repeated. We saw several Sugar Camps in the woods on our way

Sunday May 20th

Fine day Walked on to Pittsburgh, crossed Turtle Creek a most delightful Stream in a beautiful valley. the Country around most beautiful the Hills larger as you approach Pittsburgh. We called on a person of the name of Bishop whom I had known many years ago in England his house is beautifully situated on the Banks of the Alleghany, abt. 4 miles from Pittsburgh, his arable land extends some distance along the River Bank which is here abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile wide to the hills on the Slope on top of which is his woods & he has a beautiful Orchard & extensive Garden in which he takes great delight is fond of hunting & shooting keeps a few Hounds & can kill a Deer any time in the he pleases by taking his Dogs over the river & putting them on scent of a Deer which will invariably take to the River where he waits to shoot it, he also he says kills a great many Foxes which lately he says are all of the red kind, the Grey having left that part of the Country there are also great plenty of Pheasants Woodcocks & Partridges & some Turkeys he raises & makes almost every thing he uses, his Woods afford him plenty of Maple Sugar, his Sheep Wool which after being spun in the Family is man-

ufactured into Cloth in the neighbourhood but for hardly any part of his produce can he obtain money which is very scarce in every part of America. upon reaching Pittsburgh we found Mr Kidd had procured us Lodging at the Pointer kept by an Englishman named Carey. Kidd with a Captn Hawkins who wanted to take down plank to Shawnee was also in treaty for an Ark which upon our joining them we purchased for 70 dollrs & purpose all going down the River together viz Capt. Hawkins & a person named Gilbert, Kidd & his wife Mr & Mrs Paul with their Son & Daughter, Mr & Mrs Hebert, & our Family consisting of [12 Persons] 5 adults & 7 children

Pittsburgh

We remained at Carys Tavern from Sunday 20th until Monday the 28th on the evening of which day we went on board & Slept in our Ark which lay in the Allegany below the Bridge which is abt as wide as Westminster. Our Charges at Carys were 20 Dollars. We were treated with great kindness during our Stay at Pittsburgh by Mrs Bakewell, Mr. Page & Mr and Mrs. Harvey. Trade is very dull & Specie scarce trade is chiefly carried on by Barter for instance the manufacturer pays his Men chiefly in Articles of his Manufacture which they take to the Stores & trade with it for such Articles as they stand in need of. Iron & Glass are the principal articles made here but there are Paper Mills, Corn Mills, Nail Factories & all worked by Steam the Market is Wednesday & Friday & is well supplied with Meat Fish & Poultry Butter & Eggs We bought Hams at $6\frac{1}{4}$ Beef at 5 cts. Fowls at 10 Butter at 10 Cheese at 8 [Cts] Eggs at $6\frac{1}{4}$ pr doz. Sugar Orleans $12\frac{1}{2}$ Maple at $6\frac{1}{4}$ Flour 2-00 Barr Soap at 8 Candles at Rice Axes at $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollar Spades at $5\frac{1}{2}$ doll. pr $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. Nails fr 8 to 10 pr lb Augers 8 cts pr $\frac{1}{4}$ M. Harrow teeth [at] 8 pr lb Sashes 9 by 12 at 100 pr Sash of 12 Squars Timber is very cheap 3 doll. pr 1000 ft inch Boards Shingles 1 doll: pr. 1000

The Fish I observed in the market were the Buffalo, Sucker, Catfish, Bass, Perch, & what is here called Salmon very much like Pike I saw the may Fly (green Drake) in the window of the tavern the Locust (our Acacia) common in the neighbourhood, the doublepink flowering kind blows very beautifully The Horsetinger is also common on the River.

The Situation of Pittsburgh is uncommonly fine & beautiful, at the confluence of two fine Rivers the Monangahela & Alleganny which when Joined form the Ohio the opposite Banks are high & wooded to their tops, that of the Monangahela is higher & in many places as steep as Box hill where it runs down to the Mole, that of the Allegany is equally lofty but a narrow stripe of level land lies between it & the River, the point on which Pittsburgh stands is considerably elevated, & is never overflowed by either of the Rivers which are each of them larger than the Thames at Battersea, there are two fine Bridges. the site of Pittsburgh is quite level & may contain 100 A: the Country beyond it rises in to high round Knolls which are cleared & some of them planted with fine orchards in grass if a line were drawn across from river to river about two miles above their junction & some thousand Houses & Manufactories cleared of & the Ground laid out in the style of an english Park it woud perhaps form the sweetest Situation for a Villa in the World as far as regards rural beauty & smoothness of river scenery. at present the smoke of the Houses & Manufactories prevented by the neighbouring hills from ascending beats down upon the Place & renders it the most disagreeable place of residence imaginable. taken as a commercial & manufacturing situation surrounded by a fertile Country in the neighbourhood of inexhaustible Mines of Iron & Coal & limestone & plenty of timber with the command of two navigable rivers 200 miles upward toward their sources & more than 2000 below their junction to the Ocean it presents a picture of future Greatness dazling to conceive impossible to estimate

Ohio River

We moved from Pittsburgh on our Voyage down the River on Thursday afternoon May 31st 1821 and proceeded to within abt. 3 miles of Beaver where we moored our Ark to a Tree & stopped for the Night during which we were visited by a heavy Thunder storm & the Rain penetrated thro' the Roof of our Ark into our Beds Mr & Mrs Paul, their son & Daughter Mr & Mrs Hebert, Mr & Mrs Kidd, Capt. Hawkins, Mr Gilbert & our own family which with T: Ayres amounted to 12 persons were in the Ark which we had before made as comfortable as circumstances would admit by building a good fire place with Bricks & Mud taken from the River Bank & taking Kitchen Utensils &c & arranging the Plank in best manner to suit our respective Births. We formed ourselves into two Watches & took our respective turns of 6 Hours each from 8 till two & the remaining 6 Hours we divided into two Watches of 3 each by which means we varied our times of sleeping every Night. Mr Paul & his family left us at Cincinnati the others proceeded to Shawnee¹⁰ which we reached on Thursday June 14[th]

Our passage was very Pleasant the Ohio is a most noble river & the scenery upon its Banks uniformly delightful its shore every where clean & free from weeds as is its water it is every where clothed with noble Trees to the waters edge except where they have been cleared before a Town or Plantation which is generally done without the least regard to appearance the whole of the trees being removed with very few exceptions, where they have been judiciously left the effect is most strikingly obvious the Situations for the towns are in general remarkably fine & commanding, particularly Portsmouth, Cincinnati, Troy & many others we stopped at Vevay a Swiss Settlement established about 18 yrs since & went to the vineyard of Mr Morcroid who very politely shewed us his Establishment, Cellar &c he has only Four

¹⁰ Shawneetown, Ill.

acres in vines from which he makes about 800 Galls. yearly the vines were procured from Philadelphia whither they were brought by a Frenchman from the Cape of Good Hope the wine is like Claret & very fine we bought some at a Dollar pr Gall: & I never desire to taste better he promised to let me have what setts I wanted at $\frac{1}{4}$ Dollar pr 100 & gave me some information respecting their culture he has now a fine Establishment altho' when he arrived at Vevay he had but a 12 Sous piece in the world & The settlement is very thriving there are abt 40 acres under vines. we passed the Falls at Louisville which is a noble situation. the immense Volume of water which rolled over the falls was grand even beyond expectation

we met & passed several Steam Boats one large one in particular with a Canoe attached to her Stern as if to mark the triumph of Civilization over rude nature We had a good deal of Rain during our passage & were visited with several Thunder storms but on the whole I considered the weather favorable The Mornings were particularly delightful being on Deck every other night & morning I enjoyed an excellent opportunity of seeing nature on the River, the mornings are ushered in by as joyful a Chorus from the Forests as ever saluted the rising day in any other Country notwithstanding all that has been said & written respecting the silence of the American Warblers the Lark & Nightingale are indeed wanting but the Thrush is very superior to the english both in plumage & voice its notes is nearly as mellow as the Blackbirds, its Plumage is of a fine [dark] red Brown & in elegance of form & proportion no bird that I know of surpasses it, As the Sun gets higher this Chorus ceases or at least is only partially continued [particularly by the Partridge] & is succeeded by the shrill hum of the Locust which continues till evening when the Frogs commence their concert which is neither very loud or unpleasant it is rather a murmuring note than a Croak, during the night the Fire Flies make their ap-

pearance & appear like sparks of Fire among the Trees. the barking of Dogs during the whole night, the sound of the Bells on the Cattle in the Woods & the crowing of Cocks & noise of poultry towards dawn perpetually reminded us we were in a thickly settled Country, indeed during the whole length of our course I did not observe a spot which would admit of a settlement which was not either cultivated or the Operation of clearing begun

The Fish are very plentiful & excellent Eating. The White sometimes weighs as high as twenty Pounds & nearly equal to Turbot. the Catfish is very fine. there are also the Buffalo, Eel, Rock fish & many other kinds. fish are particularly plentiful at Shawnee

From Shawnee to Wanborough

We left Shawnee on Sunday June 17 in a waggon which I engaged from a man named Dawson at the rate of 4 Dollars pr Day for his waggon man & 4 Horses & I paid the ferry, which amounted to \$150 going & returning owing to a stoppage at Albion we did not reach Wanborough¹¹ before 9 on Thursday morning the little Wabash was so much swollen that we were obliged to go to Carmi to cross it which is said to be 10 miles out of the road by Robinsons Mills. we found the Road very bad in places but on the whole much better than I expected, & very good after crossing the River our accommodations were very indifferent from Shawnee to Carmi & the Charges high being 37½ cents for [meat] dinner instead of 25 which we had been accustomed to pay till our arrival at Shawnee which sum we were also charged after we left Carmi the waggon hire & Ferriage cost me 30 dollars & our Expences were 12 dollars we spent Wednesday night at Albion in a Cabin which had been engaged by Homburgh who had left a note for me at Shawnee I had walked forward

¹¹ This village, laid out by Morris Birkbeck in 1818, was named after Birkbeck's farm in England. While the neighboring village of Albion, founded a few months later, became a permanent settlement and is now the seat of Edwards County, Wanborough failed to attract many settlers and soon disappeared from the map.

to Wanborough & after waiting some Hours for the waggon was informed it had stopped at Albion to which place I went, & found that my family had been treated with the greatest attention & civility by Mr Flowers¹² family & Doctor & Mrs Pugsley They were received next morning at Wanborough by Mr Pritchard, Mr. Clark & Family Mr. Woods & Mr Birkbeck,¹³ & treated with the kindest attention. The waggon hire & Ferrys cost me 30 dollars

Friday Wanborough Thursdy June 22

We occupied a Cabin near Mrs Pritchards belonging to Job Glazier who charges 1 Dollar pr week for it & the Garden & fuel

Rode with Mr Clark to Burnt Prairie a beautiful Prairie in which Mr Clark intends building

There are, the following situations for sale in Burnt Prairie. Mr Ronalds has a Quarter Section unimproved, an improved 8th. owned by Mr Cannon

[Friday Saturday] June 23 Saturdy

Walked with Mr Woods to his farm in Burkes Prairie called in our way at Mr Embersons a magistrate where Mr Woods delivered an account of his taxable property. the Property taxed in Illinois is Land $1\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per 100 A. Horses & Cattle half pr cent on their value which is estimated by the owners The taxes are applied to this state expences & making Roads & Bridges. We called after on Richd. Birkbeck, who has a heavy Crop of wheat. We dined at Mr Springs a new settler who has a very pleasant situation we then went to Mr Woods Farm calling on our way at two American Farms we passed Mr Hunts who had died the night before & whose funeral was about to take place. we then went to Mr Rinds Farm which was for sale he asks

¹² George Flower (1788-1862), one of the co-founders of the English Settlement.

¹³ Morris Birkbeck (1764-1825) emigrated to the United States in 1817 to help Flower establish the English Settlement. Though the two men had been good friends for years, something happened in 1818 to end this close relationship and they never spoke to each other again.

1000 Dollars for his $\frac{1}{4}$ Section about 12 A. of which is under fence & planted with Corn, 3 Cows, & abt. 40 Hogs. We also called at Mr Hartlys in little Prairie

Sunday June 24—1821

At home till Evening which we spent at Mr Clarks

Monday June 25

Walked to Albion & breakfasted with Dr Pugsley called on Mr Hebert who arrived last night went after to Mr Flowers who received me very kindly. after looking over his Garden & Farm & diry wth him I rode with his son to Long Prairie & called on Mr Woods who has a fine farm there he has 30 acres of wheat, & getting his land fast into cultivation. We called on Mr Sheperd has a fine Garden where we drank Tea. I had just a Glimpse of his Flock in the Fold but it was so dark I hardly saw any thing of them there is some eligible Land held in this Prairie by a speculator in Kentucky

Time between this & Wednesday July 4 employed in looking for a situation which I think I have found in Burkes Prairie a Quarter Section belonging to R: Birkbeck¹⁴ on which he has paid one Installment \$80 & which I mean to buy if the Price suits. A Cricket Match at Mr Birkbecks

Sunday July 8

Have seen R: Birkbeck & bid him \$80 premium on his land & to take all improvements at value This is very far from meeting his Ideas indeed all who have eligible land to dispose of require what I consider extravagant premiums & I expect I shall be obliged to settle on some of the unentered land above the base line. this day was spent in a walk thro the village prairie to Mr Wilsons the farthest english settler towards the north. D. Constable accompanied me. Thermometer at 90

¹⁴ Probably Richard, son of Morris Birkbeck. He married Ann Woods and lived near Albion.

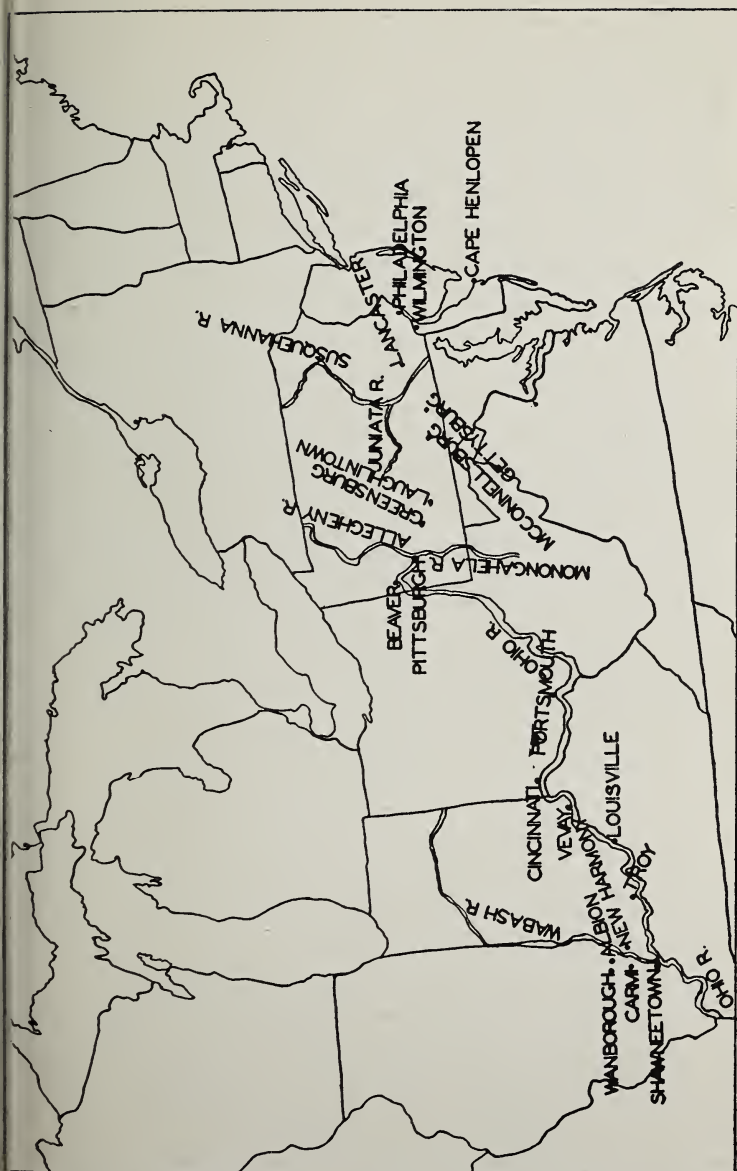
Tuesday July 10

Made an excursion to *Harmonie*¹⁵ in company with Mr & Mrs Clarke two of their sons, Mrs Pritchard & her Daughter, Mr & Mrs Pell, Constable & Thomas The two latter walked with me. we went by Bonpas¹⁶ & crossed the Wabash at Browders Ferry about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Bonpas we went by way of Black River which the waggons had a difficulty in getting over there are also several other bad places & the road on the whole very bad we started about 8 o Clock in the morning & did not reach Harmony till near 9 in the Evening we put up at the Tavern where we found excellent entertainment. The Government, Arrangement, & results produced at this Place are truly astonishing. the principal Person who keeps them together is Mr Rapp¹⁷ their Minister & his son Frederic directs all their business concerns, & Money matters the other departments are under the directions of the old men who have been bred up to the different Occupations we stopped two clear days with them & during that time had opportunities of seeing most of their establishment. The *Land* in their possessions is abt. 25000 A: 3000 of which are under fence they have about 300 A of wheat this year which they were were busy harvesting & it is very little damaged by the rain & pretty free from blight. They have 9 four horse teams which where all at wheat Harvest their waggons are large & carry very good loads. They had got in their Barley (70 A.) but it was damaged by the weather. They had also harvested their Flax the Oats were near ripe, & there was a considerable quantity of fine hemp, growing & the Indian corn surpassed any I had before

¹⁵ Harmony, Ind., located in the Wabash Valley about twenty miles from Albion, was the home of the Harmonists from 1814 to 1824. This group of Germans, lead by George Rapp, had organized communistically and migrated to this country in 1803, settling first in Butler County, Pa. In 1814 they moved to Indiana to establish a new settlement at Harmony. Ten years later they sold their land to Robert Owen, British reformer. The new communistic colony which Owen set up was called New Harmony.

¹⁶ A small settlement in southeastern Edwards County between Bon Pas Creek and the Little Wabash River.

¹⁷ George Rapp (1757-1847), German religious leader, who founded the Harmony Society and was the leader of the group which emigrated to America. See note 15 above.



WILLIAM HALL'S ROUTE FROM THE ATLANTIC COAST TO ILLINOIS. CAPE HENLOPEN WAS THE FIRST LAND SIGHTED. THE EMIGRANTS TRAVELED FROM PHILADELPHIA TO ILLINOIS BY WAGON AND RIVER FLATBOAT.

seen it was upwards of 10 ft. high & as clean as a Garden. they have a Range of conical hills resembling Cock Crow hill to the south of the town which they have cleared & laid down with blue Grass for a sheep walk & a very good one it is I saw 1400 Merinos grazing there which they fold regularly on the land every night. their Cattle & Horse Establishment is on an Island [which] of 3000 A: which have in the Wabash about half a mile from the town called the Cut of: where they have a very fine flour mill where the grind for the Neighbours giving them 40 lbs of flour for every bushel of merchantable wheat & 44 lbs for every bushel of Corn they have also a very large herd of Cows [belonging to] at the town every house has one or more according to the family which are regularly collected & attended to the Pasture by persons appointed for that purpose & brought home in the Evening when each Cow goes to the stable of the House it is appointed to & remains the Night. there are also a great many weaning Calves in proper places & [MS illegible] herds according to their respective Ages these are fed with green Corn & Hay cut into Chaff & Bran. they have a large thrashing & cleaning Machine, three very large double Barns with floors & fine capacious Granaries in which they three years stock of wheat besides this years crop which is full two years consumption, indeed they intend sowing hardly any this year intending to let their land lay fallow the price of Flour being so very low all their operations are conducted with uncommon Order, Industry, & Neatness. they have three vinyards two on the Hills & one on the plain in full bearing those on the hill are most beautifully situated commanding full view of the town which is embellished with a beautiful Church, & the fine plain on which it stands, with also a sight of the River thro the trees. they have also remarkable fine extensive Apple & Peach Orchards & a beautiful Pleasure Garden with a Labyrinth & rude Summer House in the Center very rough & unsightly without but

smooth & clean within. they have a Steam engine which drive a flour Mill, Cotton & Woolen factories & a sett of Grindstones, A Tannery, Distillery, Brewery, Hat makers Tinner, Turners &c a fine Blacksmiths shop with six forges, Wheelers Shop, very extensive Brick Yard, Carpenters, Mason & all mechanics workshop. The Town stands upon a sandy plain half a mile from the River the situation quite healthy, well supplied with water from wells & springs is now mostly log houses but they are fast giving place to brick & Frame & will very shortly be all removed it contains abt. 900 Inhabitants & the Plain around it is the most fertile soil imaginable, & quite level & finely adapted for Cultivation they have also good artificial Meadows on the River the most astonishing circumstance is the shortness of they time in which these results have been produced. the first Party landed on the 11th July 1814 & began forming a brush Camp & cutting down the timber for log houses they suffered from sickness untill they got the ground cleared but have since been remarkably healthy

From July 10th to Sunday the 29th

This day I wrote to my friends at Ewell informing them that I had made a purchase of 85 Acres of land in little Prairie from Mr Clark for 350\$ & there is 40 more to clear the last Instalment on which if paid in Octr. an abatement of 37 1/2 pr. Cent will be allowed. I have agreed with Collier to hew the logs for the Cabin at 2 Cents pr [100] foot & to saw the plank at 3 Cts. plank measure.

To [Sun]Monday Augst. 7th.

Paid Mr Clark 100\$ on account of the land this week has been employed in getting the Garden at little Prairie into Order & Planting Peaches, Plumbs, Cherries, Filberts, Haws, Briars, Holly Berries, Box, Yews a few Tiger Lily Bulbs & Strawberry Spinach, all of which are staked & were registered but getting wet through in my return home The writing was effaced The remainder of our Goods also arrived from Bon-

pas. the Freight was $37\frac{1}{2}$ Cents & the Carriage from Bonpas at the Rate of $21\frac{1}{2}$ \$ pr day for a waggon & 4 Oxen.

From Aug 7 to Aug. 13

This Week has been employed in marking out the Foundations of the Cabin & in quarrying stone to lay them with

From Aug. 13 to 20th

This Week has been employed in hauling the stone for which Hunts charge is $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars pr day he was one day & hauled 9 loads, in building the foundation of one Cabin & in digging part of a Cellar under the other I have paid Collier 15 dollars on act. of labour

From Aug. 20th to 27th

Cellar finished digging & began Walling walked to Bonpas on Thursday

From Aug. 27 to Sepr. 2

Collier & his Brother have been two days hewing Timber & steps for the Cellar Thomas & I put them in. Wrote to Uncle E: Marter this week. this is the third letter I have sent to England since our arrival One to C. Trimmer, One to my Mother & this to E: Marter.

From Sepr. 2 to Sepr 9th

Collier & his Brother have been days cutting poles & hewing lower side of first course of Logs. I have reced a letter from B: Stevenson of the Edwardsville Bank to whom I had sent Mr Maxwells Note informing me he knew not the man & returning me the draft. I have paid Mr Clark 100 dollars more towards the purchase of the Land making 200 paid him in the whole I have also paid Hunt 20 Dollars towards Hauling. We have been employed this week in quarrying, & sawing of Logs, & getting Fodder from Emmersons Corn, Colliers has been $3\frac{1}{2}$ days & his Brother $4\frac{1}{2}$ employed in cutting poles, hewing the under side of 4 Logs & hollowing spouts,

Sepr. 9 to 16

Wm., Robt., & myself went to Harmony with Mr. Clarks, & Mrs Pritchards, & Mrs Springs Family we went on Tuesday & returned on Friday while at Harmony I caught an Ague & had great difficulty in walking Home. I laid in 6 Barrels, of Flour & 1 of Corn Meal from Harmony the Flour at 4 dollars & carriage home 1 doll: Weather very wet & cold, little done at the Cabins, paid Collier 20 doll more on Acct. of Labour

Sep 16 to 23

Confined all this Week with Ague & Fever Betsey & the Infant also very ill. Betsey has also the Jaundice little done at the Cabins weather very bad. Mr Kidd died at Bonpas on Thursday

Sepr 23 to 30

Mrs. Pritchard was kind enough to invite Betsey to remove to her House which she did on the Monday, & returned on Sunday during which time she was attended by Dr. Pugsley She was extremeley weak & low when she went but returned very much improved. I am also getting better. Weather worse than has been known these three years, little progress made at the Cabins. Mr Hebert very kindly spent two or three days this week with us

Sepr 30 to Octr. 7

The Colliers have been hewing door, post & window Frames [MS illegible] day from the Girdled Timber. Spent a very pleasant evening at the Miscellany Meeting at Mrs Pritchards myself, wife, & two eldestt sons voted in members

Octr. 7 to 14

I have had another attack of Ague which has much reduced me. Betsey has also had an attack & is very weak & low the Infant is getting better Hunt has been one day hauling logs wth. two Oxen & one day hauling one load of Clapboards & three of stone with two Horses & two Oxen

Octr 14 to 21

We are all getting better the weather has been very fine & clear cold frosty morning Mr. Spring sent his brother & two horses two Days to assist me in hauling. I have paid Collyer Three Dollars on acct of Labour making 38 in all. I took an Acct. of my Expences since May 7 the day I left Philadelphia up to the present time a period of 24 Wks. they may be classed under the following Heads

Waggon hire for my Wife & 7 children with bedding & sundries.....	75
Expences for 12 persons Thos & Myself walking all the way & the two elder boys occasionally 13 days....	42
Carriage of 11 Hundred of heavy Goods at 3\$.	33
Tavern expences 1 Wk Pittsburg.....	20
Share of Ark.....	15
	<hr/>
	\$185
Expenses brot. forward.....	\$185
Do 3 days in the Ark where we detained till arrival of the Goods.....	3
Washing & Sundries.....	
Expences to Shawnee 14 days.....	15
Do 3 days in the Ark till we could procure a waggon & provision.....	9
Waggon hire for the Family & baggage to the Prairies &.....	28
Expences, 4 days & Ferriage.....	14
Do of heavy Goods up the Wabash to Bonpas & land carriage from thence Cwt 20.....	15
	<hr/>
Total Expence to Praries.....	\$269
Expences at the Prairies fr: June 21 to Octr. 21st. 17 wks viz.	
Flour 5 Blls & Carriage.....	18

Beer, \$3, Whiskey \$3, Shoes \$6.....	12
Meat, Bacon, Milk, Butter, Vegetables, Candles, Sugar, Lard.....	14
Eggs, Fowls, Washing ,&c 17 Wks.....	57
Expences 2 Journeys wth. Thos. once & the two Boys once.....	10
Four Blls Flour on hand.....	20

\$131

Acct. of Cash expended for Land, Building, Tools, & Stock	
To Mr. Clark in part of \$350 the purchase of Land...	\$200
To Collier on Acct of Labour.....	38
To Hunt Hauling.....	20
To Plank for Flooring.....	38
To Tools, Nails, & at Pittsburg.....	111
To Sickles.....	3
To Articles at Hanks Sale.....	4
To Rifle at Lancaster.....	11
To Articles at Harmony.....	12
To Two Cows & Calves.....	24

\$461

Total Expence fr: Phil: to Praries.....	269
Do at Prairies fr: June 21st to Octr 21st.....	131
Do on acct of Land, Building, &c.....	461

Total Expenditure.....\$861''-

Octr. 21 to 28

Betsey & the Child pretty well myself much better, Reced a letter from my brother Charles dated July 15. Thos & the two Boys at the Cabins which have now the first Row of logs up & the Floor Joists on, this week. House expences are \$3, & Collier has been paid 12 dollars on ye 29th Weather delightful, Autumnal tints most beautiful

Octr. 28 to Novr. 4

Delayed in raising our Cabins owing to Hunts not coming to haul logs he was there on Thursday wth two horses & two Oxen. Thos & Wm employed 4 days quarrying, Collier began hewing again on Saturday not having logs enough hewed the first time. House expences 1''67½. Weather fine except one day when a good deal of rain fell, the leaves fast falling.

Nov 4 to 11

Began to raise the Cabins on Wednesday day fine but few hands came only got up the first Cabin to the Cieling. Hunt two Days hauling logs Collier finished hewing his Log ft by Tuesday dinner time, House expences \$550 Weather very changeable a heavy fall of snow of [Thursday] Friday Morng. which laid till Saturday. Leaves of the Trees. Our Cows have not been home since last Sunday which puts us to much inconvenience

from Novr. [18 to 25th] 11th to 18th

Had another raising on Tuesday & got up the other Cabin to the 9th log. Collier & his brother have been hewing more logs on Saturday Recieved a letter from my brother Robert, & Betsey wrote to Sally This has been a fine week. House expences only 50 cents & a lb of Powder. wrote to Mr Maxwell directed Bellevue Missouri

18th to 25th

Borrowed 6 dollars of Mr Clark. Mr. Kidd left this for the Eastern States or perhaps for England sent a packet of Letters by him wth Map of the section & plan of our intended homestead We had another raising on Wednesday [at which only one Americ] got up the Cabins to the Square. Weather very fine. House Expences \$350.

Nov 25 to Decr 2

Reced a letter from J: Marter. another raising on Tuesday only one American (Edmondstone) came got up the roof.

Colliers both 4[3²] days this week getting on clap boards &c exclusive of raising day. House \$200 Weather mild & [Snow] mild

Decr 2st to 9th

Wrote to J: Marter. Colliers employed 4 Days making 1000 Clapboards. Borrowed \$5 of Mr Clark, Reced a letter from Waghorn & 3 Which he brot. fr: Ewell pd \$2 postage. Weather fine to Friday when we had a fall of snow which laid but one day. House 350

Decr. 9th to 16th

The Colliers employed on Monday in preparations for sawing ceiling joists &c Hunt hauled a load of clapboards & three load of stone, a fall of snow fell & the Frost set in on Tuesday mornng which stop our future proceeding out of doors Tom has been employed within getting the windows & door ready & shaving clapboards. We have fetched home the Cows & have had 100 Ears of corn from Uriah Emerson. had a settlement with Hunt to whom I am indebted \$175 his bill was 2175. H: Exp: 167. Wrote to Ewell & to Waghorn

Decr. 16 to 23

The Frost continues & the operations at Woodside in consequence suspended except the Shaving Boards & laying down the Floor in the rough. Borrowed \$5 more of Mr Clark \$16 in all for which I gave him a note on demand. H: E: 25 Cents. No mail this week

Decr. 23d to 31st

Frosty nights Fine Days Bought a Grindstone at Mr Pells measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ In: at 16 cts—175. 100 Ears of Corn from Emerson on Tuesday.

Sons splitting Rails, Tom fitting windows & shaving clapboards. Weather most delightful cloudless Days & star-light nights.

paid Hunt his balance 175—& owe him 250 for one Days work hauling 600 boards & 5 loads Stone. H: E: 375.

Jany 1st 1822. to ye 6

Frost seems going. spent a most pleasant evening at the Miscellany Meeting at Mrs Pritchards 33 sat down to supper. Mr Spring & Miss Pritchard appointed to preside several new members Borrowed \$2380 of Mr Clark & gave him my Note for 3980 the amt of what I have borrowed in all. Paid Hunt 200 [the b] & owe him now 50 Cents. the two dollars were paid to Cooper who had sued him. had 2 doz: of screw of Mr Pells for which & the grindstone I owe him 2 dollars, I also owe him 50 Cts. for sugar

1822 Jany 6th. to 13th

Still Frosty but the days clear & delightfull. the Colliers have been 3 days sawing cieling joists & scantling from the girdled timber, spent Friday evening at Mr Heberts. Sons employed in cutting the girdled timber in the Garden House expences \$201 they were last \$1920. Ther: has been 8 below Zero

13th to 20th

Frost till Friday when rain fell & a thaw commenced. Received 40 bush of corn from Hunt at 20 cents cieling joists got up & clapboards nailed on at the prairie H: E. none. Prairie fires very frequent. have had 4 b. Corn in all fr: Emmerson

20 to 27th

Sharp Frost. Snow on Saturday.

Sons splitting Rails & clearing in ye Garden. H: E: 87½.

1822 Sunday Jany 27th to Sunday Feby 3d

Fine weather but Frosty. Betsey sent a packet of Letters to England by Mr. Lesayer who left Albion on Feby. 1st Sons splitting Rails Thos making bedsteads H: E: 75 Cts.

Feby 3 to 10th

Sunday After Breakfast which consisted of Red root Tea without Milk, or Sugar & Corncake without Butter but Lard used for a substitute I took a walk in english Prairie & re-

turned to dinner upon an achbone¹⁸ of beef & a roasted Turkey but without Wheaten Bread or Vegetables A heavy fall of Snow took place in the afternoon Betsey Ned and myself spent the Evening at Mrs Pritchard's the night was very cold & Monday a severe day I did not leave the House. Betsey was busy Washing & the Boys had been out Rabbit hunting with the Clarks they killed 13 & when Bill & Bob came home after they had dined we enjoyed our selves with a glass of Whisky & some nutts. Tuesday was a very delightful fine day & after our usual breakfast I walked to our place at the little Prairie where I found a Bald Eagle which had been shot by U: Em-merson it measured six feet nine from tip to tip. I walked from thence to Benj Clarks from whom I had engaged two Hogs to let him know I could take them this week his wife said he would most likely bring them in tomorrow on my return to the little Prairie I called at J: Hustons & brought two masons who had been employed in building his Chimny to look at mine & agreed with them to build mine at \$10 each in the Rough or to polish them of like Hustons at \$12 thy engaged to come the next day but the wind shifting in the Evening & Snow falling they were prevented working

Wednesday was as cold as Monday. Benj. Clark brot. in two Hogs which weighed $443\frac{1}{2}$ lbs at 2 Cts.— $887\frac{1}{2}$ dined upon a rabbit Pie which Betsey made she had been hard at work with the girls washing. Thursday Wm. & myself brot. the Hogs in doors to salt them but they were so frozen he could not cut them up & I with difficulty cut of a bit of Griskin¹⁹ to take to the Prairie. Friday was a very fine clear day the Snow dissappeared & Wm. & his mother got the Hogs salted down & the Bacon from those I had from Mounts Jany 2d hung up in the Smoke House. Saturday was a very Cold sharp day Betsey was very poorly thro the fatigue she had undergone. I went to the Prairie where Tom was employed making Bedsteads H: E: $37\frac{1}{2}$ Cts

¹⁸ Aitch-bone, the rump.

¹⁹ Pork loin.

Sunday Feby 10th to 17th

Walked to the Prairie & returned to dinner on two roasted Turkeys. Weather getting mild again Ther: below Zero twice last week. The masons began building the chimney on Tuesday but there not being Stone enough quarried they left on Saturday The little Prairie was burnt on Tuesday & the fire was in the adjacent woods till Friday night when we had a very heavy fall of rain. A Prairie fire when seen under favorable circumstances is a most sublime spectacle. towards Evening thick Clouds of Smoke obscure the Horizon to windward as darkness comes on the flames are perciev'd & come rapidly forward in a bright irregular line of several miles in extent the extremity of wh. are not perceptible at length it reaches the Creek where it meets with a temporary check till blown across by the wind it comes raging towards you with increased fury [comes] roaring, crackling, thundering, up the slope darts into the woods consuming the dry leaves & every thing combustible runs up the hollow trees & illuminates to tops of the Forests from immense torches of from 20 to 40 feet in height. this is a faint description of a prairie fire seen from an eminence on a dark night with a leading wind & it is a spectacle the magnificence, grandeur, & sublimity of which must be seen to be properly appreciated. H: E: this week nothing

Feby 17 to 24th

Busy opening a Stone Quarry but the Wheelbarrow breaking where obliged to desist & were employed in clearing the line of the Garden fence. The Fires continue & the weather fine thro the week with the exception of Wednesday when a considerable quantity of Rain fell. A Mr Brooks from Oxford Street called on us he took charge of a parcel from Capt. Robinson directed to a Mr Hall, Cincinnati finding no person of the name in that neighbourhood & having business in this part he called on me thinking it might perhaps be [directed] for me he had not the Parcel with him but

expected it would be at Cincinnati by the time he reached that place when if he found upon opening it that it was for us he would leave it in charge of Mrs. Paul for us & Betsey wrote by him to Mrs P: to that effect

Received a letter from J: Marter dated Jan'y 19th George Town, Columbia. H: E: 75

Feb'y 24th to March 3

William employed 2 Dys on the road fr. Albion to Grutts Mill in my stead the exemption from that service not taking place till after the age of fifty. Bought 6 Hogs of Hartley for \$6 which were put up on Corn on Monday. A: Emmerson began hauling rails for the Garden fence on Thursday & Tom & I commenced putting them up. the afternoon was showery the Birds sang delightfully & this appeared the commencement of Spring. Much rain fell on that night & Friday. Borrow'd \$10 from Mr. C. who now holds my Note for \$4980. H: E: 250.

Mar: 3 to 10th

Employed this Week in putting up the Fence & in gardening. we have planted 100 Peach, & 80 apple Trees the first from D: Thomson \$4 & the other from W. Emmerson. paid Hunt for his Corn. The Peach. was the White Plumb kind from Natchez. fine growing weather wth. some heavy rain. Sowed Onions Carrott, Parsnip, Cabbage, & Radish. H: E: 50 Ct.

Mar 10th to 17th

Employed this week in finishing the Fence & in putting in, the Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats, Peas, French Beans, Sainfoin,²⁰ Burnet Lucern,²¹ & Clover, which I brought from England Borrowed \$10 more of Mr C: who now has my note for \$5980. paid E: Collier \$10 on acct. of Labour done at the Cabins. a heavy fall of snow on Friday, the first part of the week fine & mild. H: E: 75 Cts.

²⁰ A perennial herb.

²¹ Alfalfa.

17th to 24

Employed in the Garden putting in Apple Trees, Vine & Currant Cuttings which I had from Harmony. A great deal of rain fell on Thursday attended wth Thunder Sharp White Frost on Friday & Saturday. The Peach blossoms are just beginning to shew their colour at the tips Agreed wth. Hinde for 700 ft. Oak Plank at \$2 H: E: 25 Cts.

1822 March 24 to 30th

Busy in the Garden & in quarrying & hauling Stone for the chimney Rain this week wth. cold winds which I expected woud have injured the Peaches which are now in full bloom. H: E: 25 Cts.

Mar: 31st. to April 7th

The mason came & finished the Chimney he was four days at it. Killed one of the Pigs I bought of Hartley it had been up 5 wks & weighed 80 lb we calculate it eat 5 bush: of Corn. Peaches out of bloom & looking very promising. the weather has been fine but one white frost, & some rain. Received 1000 vine cuttings from Vevay & some grafts & Currant cuttings the vines were put in water on Thursday the Apples grafted on Crab Stocks on Sunday the Row No 1 Morcrods Red flats, No. 2 Juncttons, No. 3 Browns Pippins, No. 4 Vandivers, & No. 5 Romanites. the four last are winter keeping apples the first a fall apple. H: E: nothing.

N:B: The 6th row is New York Pippins fr: Mr Pell grafted some time after.

April 7 to 14

Employed this week in paving the Hearth laying the Floor & mudding one of the Cabins & in putting in the vines. very heavy rains have fallen this week which have inundated the sides of the Creeks & carried the log Bridges away. Flights of Snipes & wild Ducks resort to the wet Places. The Partridges still remain in Coveys & the Robins in Flocks. [the] A pair of Thrushes made their appearance last week,

the Cock sings delightfully. Turkeys come up to the uplands to breed William shot a Cock on Friday morning which weighed $21\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. The Deer come to feed in the Prairies which are now quite green. Peaches are set & the Plumb in full bloom the apple blossoms just appearing. Mr. Birkbeck received a Letter from C. Trimmer informing him of his arrival at Philadelphia & that he had brought a box & some cash for me which will prove very acceptable Mr. Birkbeck wrote to him at Pittsburgh & inserted a request from me that he would buy several articles there for me. Saturday afternoon being very wet & stormy & the creek much out I slept for the first time at the Prairie H: E: nothing. Grafted some New York Pippins Pears, Plumbs & Cherries. No. 6 is New Yk: Pippin

April 14 to 21st.

Weather very changeable the Cold has been severe for the Season & a sharp white Frost has happened for two nights which I should suppose must have injured the Peaches. We removed to Woodside on Thursday & altho we have only one Room, feel a comparative degree of Com. heightened very much by the feeling that we are at last on our own Estate *Free, & independent*, secure in the enjoyment of the Fruits of our Industry. H: E: 25 Cts.

(To be continued)

ALSON J. STREETER—AN AGRARIAN LIBERAL*

BY ALFRED W. NEWCOMBE

VI

THE Greenback and Anti-Monopoly parties disappeared from the political scene after the national election of 1884. The economic discontent among farmers and city workers which had produced those parties did not, however, vanish with them. Farm prices remained below the cost of production, interest rates were high, and in agricultural regions money was excessively scarce. The farmers still retained their grievances against banks and moneylenders, against railroads, and against the increasing power of corporations and monopolies. They continued the search for effective political action. At the same time, the grievances of labor had not been lessened. Various attempts of American workers after the Civil War to improve their condition through organization and strikes had met with only limited success. The most notable of these organizations, the Knights of Labor, had adopted a comprehensive political and social program. Many of the items of this program had been included in the Greenback and Anti-Monopoly platforms. Among the new planks were those which called for government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, postal savings banks, equal pay for equal work of both sexes, and the eight-hour day.⁵⁸ But ineffective leadership, the development of new defensive methods by business, and the strikes of 1886, which in Chi-

* The first part of this article appeared in the December, 1945, issue of this publication.

⁵⁸ Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1886), 85-88. The Greenback platform of 1884 declared Congress might construct national railroads, but did not ask for government ownership of those already in operation. It did, however, demand the establishment of a government postal telegraph system. Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency, 1788-1897* (Boston, 1898), 425.

cago resulted in the Haymarket Riot, reduced the attractiveness of the Knights of Labor. Skilled workers then joined the local, more conservative, and more successful trade unions and entered into the rising American Federation of Labor.

Delegates from these farmer and labor groups, representing many shades of political and economic opinion, assembled in conference at Cincinnati on February 22, 1887, and organized a national Union Labor Party.⁵⁹ Streeter attended the conference and was chosen as the presiding officer. "Yells of approval did not cease until he began to speak." In a few words he raised the question whether capital or labor should control the country. He indicated the menace of both organized capital and anarchy, making clear his conviction that the middle classes must also organize. The purpose of the convention, as he saw it, was to form a party for the common good of the whole people; its duty was to protect the weak against the strong. The conference drew up a program of policies and recommendations covering a wide range of interests.⁶⁰ Streeter made a "very good presiding officer" and was "nothing if not original."⁶¹ As another reporter phrased it, "Chairman Streeter was a great success as a presiding officer, and when he knocked out a cranky delegate did it in such a way as to lead even the delegate himself to join in the general laughter."⁶² At the close of the convention he "made a happy speech asking for forgiveness for any errors in judgment on his part. He was given a vote of thanks."⁶³

Following the conference at Cincinnati, Union Labor organizations were formed and candidates nominated for office in at least sixteen states of the Midwest, the East, and

⁵⁹ Of the 500 delegates present, at least 350 are said to have been present in the Toledo National Greenback convention of 1878. *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1887.

⁶⁰ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 24, 1887. The *Chicago Tribune* of the same date gives, if not the whole program, a detailed summary of it under eleven headings. Material from the Cincinnati newspapers has been supplied by Prof. S. Gale Lowrie of the University of Cincinnati.

⁶¹ *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1887; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 24, 1887.

⁶² *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 24, 1887.

⁶³ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Feb. 25, 1887.

the South.⁶⁴ No adequate study of the origin and history of this party has been published. In the state of Illinois it appears to have originated after the Haymarket Riot, with an attempt on the part of labor leaders in Chicago to accomplish by the ballot what strikes had failed to achieve. A United Labor Party was organized and contacts were established with other workers who favored political action for labor in Cook, Will, and St. Clair counties, and especially with those in such industrial centers as Rock Island, Decatur, Mattoon, LaSalle, and Streator. In 1886 this movement met with some minor success, but the next year dissensions arose which brought about the party's disintegration. Former Greenbackers and Anti-Monopolists then undertook to combine in the new Union Labor Party these advocates of political action for labor with members of the earlier agrarian movements. To this undertaking various members of the Knights of Labor, the Grange, and the Farmers' Alliance gave their support.⁶⁵

By the beginning of 1888, this union movement was thought to have advanced far enough to warrant holding a state Union Labor Party convention. Such a convention assembled in Decatur on April 26. Streeter was in attendance and was placed upon a committee of five to prepare the platform. One report asserts that he was not willing to accept the nomination for Governor. But no evidence has been found to show that he was seriously considered as a candidate. Some of the delegates were pledged to support A. J. Bell of Peoria, who, it was believed, might, if nominated, also

⁶⁴ Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War* (Iowa City, 1916), 211-14; John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), 154-55.

⁶⁵ For further details see Eugene Staley, *History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor* (Chicago, 1930), 71-83; Chester M. Destler, "The People's Party in Illinois, 1888-1896" (MS, University of Chicago), 89-93. In the *Decatur Daily Republican*, April 26, 1888, an unidentified writer declared: "Colonel S. F. Norton, editor of the Chicago *Sentinel*, a labor organ, asserts that the Union Labor party had its birth in his office in July, 1886, the idea and plan being advanced by the late Colonel Heath, then editor of the *Express*. In September of the same year a National Conference was held at Indianapolis, when eight states were represented by 100 men. The conference adjourned and met at Cincinnati in 1887, bringing together 450 men, representing 30 states." This quotation with other references to the Decatur paper has been supplied by Dr. Daniel J. Gage of The James Millikin University and his students.

capture the Democratic nomination. This plan for fusion with the Democrats was, however, defeated by those who favored independent party action and the nomination of W. W. Jones of Camargo. And "after a disgraceful wrangle" some twenty-eight Bell supporters walked out of the convention. At some time during the proceedings, apparently toward its close, perhaps after the walkout, Streeter "was endorsed with enthusiasm as the choice of the Union Labor Party for President."⁶⁶

On May 16, less than a month later, 274 delegates from twenty-five states assembled at Cincinnati in the national convention of the Union Labor Party. Charles E. Cunningham, a farmer from the vicinity of Little Rock, Arkansas, presented the name of Streeter as a candidate for President. The Cincinnati papers unfortunately do not record the reasons advanced by Cunningham for considering Streeter as the proper candidate. That he had been conspicuously identified with the movement from its inception as well as with the related and preceding movements, that he had both vigor and experience as a campaigner, and that he possessed means sufficient to permit him to assume the onerous task were, no doubt, the main reasons for his nomination. In the roll call of the states, Streeter's nomination was seconded by Baldwin of Connecticut and Vandewater of Illinois. Other names were presented only to be withdrawn by the candidates themselves or by friends who represented them. All the states then seconded the nomination of Streeter. No ballot was necessary; he was nominated by acclamation.⁶⁷

On being introduced to the convention Streeter made a brief speech declaring in substance:

No man can say that I have sought the nomination. You need a change in the administration of your affairs, one that means relief to all industrial people among us. You need an

⁶⁶ *Decatur Daily Republican*, April 26, 27, 1888.

⁶⁷ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 17, 1888; *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, May 17, 1888.

administration of the government in the interest of the people. The destiny of the country is now in your hands and your weapon is the ballot. We have tried both old parties and both have failed to give us relief. We now appeal to you to solve the issue at the polls. Shall the aristocracy forever rule over us or shall the government be restored to the people to whom it belongs?⁶⁸

Following his remarks, the convention nominated Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas for Vice-President and adopted a platform.⁶⁹ This platform consisted of an introductory paragraph and a statement of policies or principles to be established. The introductory paragraph asserted that "general discontent prevails on the part of the wealth-producer," and indicated something of the nature and extent of that discontent. An appeal to the people for support of the party and its program was also made. The statement of principles is of interest in establishing the doctrinal relationship of this party to earlier and later third-party movements. The party expressed its opposition to speculation in land, to the ownership of land by noncitizens, to monopoly in land, and to the withholding of unused land from those who needed it. Moreover it demanded the forfeiture of unearned grants of land, the limitation of land ownership, and declared that "a homestead should be exempt, to a limited extent, from execution or taxation." These items, together with a recommendation for the encouragement by legal means of agricultural and co-operative associations, were intended evidently to attract the support of the agrarian interests. As a further attraction to farmers and particularly to former Greenbackers, the platform called for the establish-

⁶⁸ Streeter Scrapbook.

⁶⁹ Stanwood, *History of the Presidency, 1788-1897*, 463, is in error in giving the impression that Samuel Evans of Texas was Streeter's running-mate. In the balloting for Vice-President, Evans received 124 votes, T. P. Rynder of Pennsylvania 44, and Cunningham 32. But Evans made a speech declining the nomination and endorsing Cunningham, who was then nominated. *Cincinnati Enquirer*, May 17, 1888; *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, May 17, 1888; Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 208.

ment of a national monetary system in the interest of the producer, a system in which the currency should be issued directly to the people or lent to them "upon land security at a low rate of interest." It opposed the further issuance of interest-bearing bonds by the national government as well as by state, territorial, and municipal governments, and demanded the immediate application of all funds in the Treasury to the reduction of the national debt. It declared that "while we have free coinage of gold, we should have free coinage of silver," and that "postal savings banks should be established."

Appealing more directly to labor, the party favored the settlement of disputes by arbitration, the protection of employees from bodily injury, the reduction of the hours of labor to accord with the increased production by labor-saving machinery, the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of aliens under contract, and the absolute exclusion of the Chinese from the country. Somewhat more surprising was the recommendation of "equal pay for equal work for both sexes." As an added attraction, perhaps to former Grangers whose battle against the railroads had not been completely successful, and to the Knights of Labor, the party called for the ownership by the people of "the means of communication and transportation."

The remaining statements of the platform were intended to draw the support of other liberal elements of our population. They included demands for a service pension to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States, for an amendment making possible the direct election of United States senators, and for a graduated income tax. And they further declared that "the right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of state legislation," and that "the paramount issues to be solved . . . are the abolition of usury, monopoly, and the trusts."⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Stanwood, *History of the Presidency, 1788-1897*, 461-63.

Inclusive though it was, this platform did not express the desires and demands of all groups of labor. On the day after the nomination of Streeter, the United Labor Party assembled in its national convention in the same city and nominated Robert H. Cowdrey of Chicago as its candidate for the presidency.⁷¹ The platform of this party was intended to appeal particularly to the city workers. Based upon the doctrines of Henry George, it maintained that land should be taxed according to its value and that values arising from the growth of society should be utilized for the benefit of all.⁷²

Such a platform was obviously not likely to appeal to independent farm owners or to men like Streeter whose wealth was largely in land. Yet since the Union Labor Party also represented and included elements of labor, an effort was made to unite the two parties. The United Labor convention appointed a committee to confer with Union Labor leaders.⁷³ The committee found these gentlemen unwilling to accept the Henry George single-tax ideas. A further attempt at union, also unsuccessful, was made in Chicago by the executive leaders of the two parties.⁷⁴ But in the state of Ohio they are said to have achieved a union.⁷⁵ Cowdrey is reported to have challenged Streeter to a joint debate, which Streeter declined on the ground that he did not favor the theories of Henry George and that upon other issues the two parties were not sufficiently divergent to warrant warfare.⁷⁶

After his return to New Windsor, Streeter gave a written endorsement to the platform and indicated some of his personal views in a letter written on June 30, 1888. The opinions

⁷¹ Cowdrey was born in Lafayette, Ind., in 1852. As a young man he went to Chicago to attend the Chicago College of Pharmacy from which he was later graduated. For a time he edited the official publication of the school. In 1882 he established a printing firm in that city. Five years later he withdrew from this firm to become the secretary of the Chicago Condensing Company. *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1888.

⁷² For a copy of this platform, see Stanwood, *History of the Presidency, 1788-1897*, 463-65.

⁷³ *Chicago Times*, May 16, 1888.

⁷⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 3, 1888.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 6, 1888.

⁷⁶ Bassett, *Past and Present of Mercer County*, I: 191.

expressed in this letter may be briefly summarized as follows:

In his judgment the government should be administered in the interest of the common people but not to the injury of any class. All classes should be equally protected in their rights of person and property. He would not recommend the demonetization of silver nor the destruction of greenbacks still in circulation. The coinage of silver should be as free as that of gold. No change in the tariff laws would give cheaper transportation rates, lower interest charges, or protect the people against monopolies and trusts. And, though the party's platform did not include a tariff plank, there should be a revision of the tariff laws giving protection where it was needed and reducing the tax where it could be done safely. The party was in favor of temperance. He did not believe in cheap tobacco and whisky and he was opposed to the removal of taxes on them. He favored the arbitration of labor disputes and government ownership of the lines of communication and transportation. He was convinced that no relief was to be gained from the old parties.⁷⁷

Hopeless though the undertaking must have appeared to him from the very start, Streeter in no wise sought to evade the obligations involved in his candidacy. He traveled extensively and made a large number of campaign speeches. From New Windsor on November 16, 1888—after the election—he directed a letter to the Union Labor Party, giving an account of his stewardship. He wrote:

I carried your banner into the states of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Arkansas, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, and West Virginia. The necessary traveling was done mostly at night. I made an average of more than one speech each day during the whole time and each speech was over two hours in length. For want of room nearly all the meetings had to be held in the open air.⁷⁸

The Galesburg Republican-Register of October 20, 1888,

⁷⁷ Streeter Scrapbook.

⁷⁸ Streeter Scrapbook. The *Chicago Tribune* refers to speeches in Hastings, Neb.; Flora, Ind.; Senachwine, Ill.; Little Rock, Ark.; and Clinton, Ill. Aug. 6, 18, 24, Sept. 3, Oct. 12, 1888.

gave an account of one of these Union Labor meetings held in that city four days earlier. Streeter spoke in the afternoon for two hours to an audience assembled in a skating rink. The central thought of his address was that the legislation of the previous twenty years had been in the interest of the moneyed class and not of the people. He declared that the bankers were lending the people's money—government funds—to the public at a high rate of interest. He ridiculed the Republican platform and was very critical of the Democrats, decrying their free-trade tendencies and the apparently close intimacy between Cleveland and the money power. He announced that he was a believer in a moderate protective tariff and that, if he were elected, he would retire the national bank notes, would issue greenbacks in their place, would increase the coinage of silver, and expend the treasury surplus on the purchase of government bonds. The unidentified reporter commented that Streeter had a good voice, that his illustrations were excellent, that he answered questions in an effective manner, that he was frequently applauded, and that most of his audience remained till the close of his speech. In the evening his followers staged a torchlight parade. He spoke to them briefly from the hotel and then went to the rink where he made substantially the same speech as in the afternoon.

In the election which took place on November 6, Streeter ran in fourth place, preceded by Harrison, the victor, and by Cleveland and Fisk. Apparently no definitive returns for Streeter's national vote in this election are available. The size of his vote has been variously reported as 146,836, 146,897, 146,935, and 148,105. It certainly seems safe to say that he received over 146,000 votes from twenty-seven states, mainly in the West and South, of the thirty-eight states which participated in the election. His greatest strength was shown in Kansas with 37,726 and in Texas with 29,459 votes.⁷⁹ In the case of Arkansas, where he had campaigned

⁷⁹ Stanwood, *History of the Presidency, 1788-1897*, 483.

for nearly a month and where his vote was reported as 10,613, he was convinced that the ballots were dishonestly recorded.⁸⁰ In Illinois he received a total of 7,534 votes.⁸¹

VII

After the campaign of 1888, Streeter devoted himself to his agricultural interests. It is more than likely that at this time he believed his career as an office seeker was at an end. But early in 1891, and with little previous warning, he again became a candidate for public office. His candidacy developed as a result of the state elections in November, 1890. On the morning after those elections it was discovered that in the next General Assembly the Illinois Senate would be composed of 27 Republicans and 24 Democrats, and the House of 77 Democrats, 73 Republicans, and 3 members of the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association, usually referred to as the F.M. B.A.⁸² One of the most pressing problems before the General

⁸⁰ Streeter Scrapbook; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1891.

⁸¹ The figures for Illinois have been supplied by the office of the Secretary of State, Edward J. Barrett. In that state, approximately 44% of his vote came from the northern half, that is, north of the 40th parallel. Yet only 10 counties in that half gave him over 100 votes each. Cook County reported 703, Knox 232, and Mercer only 60 votes. Brown County, however, gave him 202, an increase of 32 over his vote for Governor in that county. In the southern half of the state his greatest strength was shown in St. Clair and Pike counties with 700 and 628 votes. Ten southern counties gave him more votes for President than they did for Governor. Of these, St. Clair County, where his vote increased from 238 to 700, was the most notable. In his home community of New Windsor he received only 2 votes, largely because the ballots for him were late in arriving. For this delay his oldest son has been thought possibly responsible. One of Streeter's neighbors commented, "I also know that the young man worked hard at the polls all day for the ticket that was headed Cleveland and Thurman. . . . It is my opinion he had something to do in keeping the Streeter tickets back. . . . The old man thinks the world and all of him." *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1891.

⁸² The F.M.B.A. was founded in 1885 as a secret ritualistic order with a general assembly which met quarterly for the transaction of business common to the members. Its place of origin appears to have been Johnson County, and the southern and southwestern counties remained the center of its strength. Reorganized and incorporated in 1887, it grew rapidly there and in other parts of the state. In August, 1890, an enthusiastic supporter boasted of almost 2,500 lodges with 75,000 members. It was interested in the formation of farmers' co-operatives for purchasing, and in co-operative county and state fire insurance companies. It advocated a reconstruction of the revenue code, the assessment of property for tax purposes at a fair cash value, lower rates of interest, cheaper transportation, and laws against trusts. In April, 1890, Cicero J. Lindley was elected state president. He said that the farmers favored a revision of the tariff so that necessities might be duty free and imported luxuries made subject to duties. He added that "the farming interests of this country undoubtedly demand the free coinage of silver." *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 6, April 28, 1890. E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson, *The Industrial State, 1870-1893 (Centennial History of Illinois, IV, Springfield, 1920)*, 178; Destler, "People's Party in Illinois," 33-40, 59-62; George T. Palmer, *A Conscientious Turncoat: The Story of John M. Palmer, 1817-1900* (New Haven, 1941), 262.

Assembly would be the election of a United States Senator. It was evident that on a joint ballot for that office the Democrats would have 101 votes, and the Republicans exactly 100. Since 103 votes would be necessary for an election, it was further evident that the F.M.B.A. legislators held the balance of power. These three men were Herman E. Taubeneck, James Cockrell, and Dr. H. H. Moore. All three came from southern Illinois where the Association was strongest. Two of the three, Cockrell and Moore, were known to have been previously identified with the Democratic Party.⁸³ At once, and throughout the subsequent senatorial contest, these three were subjected to intense Republican and Democratic pressure. The National Assembly of the F.M.B.A., held at Springfield on November 22, 1890, left them free to do as they saw fit.⁸⁴ A newly formed Confederation of Industrial Organizations urged them to secure the election of a practical farmer.⁸⁵ But not until the legislature had been organized did they actually choose a candidate.

When the legislature convened on January 7, 1891, Streeter was in Springfield. No evidence has been found to show that he was a member of the Association. But he is said to have begun to work upon the "Big Three," as they now came to be called, as soon as it became evident that they held the balance of power.⁸⁶ In an interview on January 5, he said that he was making no claims, that he had not announced himself as a candidate, but he declared that "strange things are going to happen." He was sure that the three F.M.B.A. votes would not be given to General John M. Palmer, the accepted Democratic candidate.⁸⁷ And five days later the "Big Three" announced that they would not vote for Palmer, as he was concerned too much with the tariff and too little with the money trust. They were not then ready

⁸³ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Nov. 7, 1890.

⁸⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 22, 1890.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1890.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1891.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1891.

to make known their choice, but rumor had it that they had chosen David Hunter. If not to them, nor to Streeter, at least to one reporter, it seemed certain that the Republicans would not vote for Streeter because of his economic views, and the Democrats would not do so because of party resentment at his independent policy in the Logan-Morrison senatorial contest during the 34th General Assembly.⁸⁸ He was then elected, it will be remembered, with the aid of Democratic votes, but he refused to vote for Morrison, the Democratic candidate.

Nevertheless, the "Big Three" decided upon Streeter as their candidate. They endorsed him as a champion of the farmers, an opponent of railroads and other corporations, and a man of tested independence and courage who without hope of reward had spent freely of his own time and money for the agrarian cause and had suffered from the violent abuse of the two old parties.⁸⁹ And on January 21, at the first joint session of the Assembly, his name was placed in nomination by James Cockrell, seconded by Dr. Moore.⁹⁰ The nominating speeches paid tribute to his success as a farmer, to his knowledge of what the farmer needed and demanded, to his honesty and courage. One speaker remarked: "We believe his character is pure."⁹¹ The Democrats nominated General Palmer and the Republicans, finding that their original candidate, Senator Farwell, would not receive the votes of farmer legislators, nominated Richard J. Oglesby.

The senatorial contest was prolonged until March 11, some fifty days later. It necessitated the taking of 154 ballots and is estimated to have cost the state \$150,000.⁹² It deserves a thorough monographic treatment which it cannot here receive. All that can be attempted now is to record the main stages of the contest insofar as they are related to Streeter and

⁸⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 14, 1891.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1891.

⁹¹ *Chicago Times*, Jan. 21, 1891.

⁹² *Monmouth Daily Review*, March 11, 1891.

as they throw more light upon his political opinion and character.

For this purpose, the contest may conveniently be divided into three stages or chapters. The first chapter covers the events between January 21 and February 11. During those three weeks, as indeed throughout the whole contest, the "Big Three" were subjected to pressure from both Republican and Democratic organizations. If legal, certainly not all the pressure then exerted can now be regarded as in accord with the highest political ethics.⁹³ Toward the end of January it was reported that Streeter, whose support had thus far been limited to only three votes, was to confer with the "Big Three" upon the question of selecting another F. M. B. A. candidate. At the same time, in a conference with the chairmen of the Republican State Central Committee and the Republican Steering Committee, Cockrell was told that the Republicans would not come over to Streeter. In return he informed them that the F.M.B.A. members would withhold their vote from Palmer, if the Republicans would join that organization in selecting some farmer agreeable to both groups.⁹⁴ But this discussion apparently had little immediate effect upon the balloting; Streeter continued to receive three and only three votes.

On February 2, two Republican ex-representatives, both of them neighbors and friends of Streeter, W. C. Galloway of Aledo and A. S. Petrie of New Windsor, arrived in Springfield to persuade the Republicans to vote for Streeter. Galloway maintained that on the tariff Streeter's views differed little from those of the Republicans, that he had consistently been an independent whose theories and activities were intended to benefit the people, and that by his election the Republican Party would gain as much as it would lose.⁹⁵

⁹³ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Jan. 15, 1891; *Chicago Tribune*, Jan. 22, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 1891; *Chicago Times*, Jan. 20, 21, 24, 1891.

⁹⁴ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Jan. 27, 1891.

⁹⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 3, 1891.

The following day the F.M.B.A. representatives submitted to the Republican Steering Committee the names of Streeter, Dr. H. H. Moore, and J. P. Stelle, and indicated their willingness to support the one endorsed by the Republicans—many of whom were said to prefer Moore. Taubeneck and Moore were reported to have become tired of voting for Streeter. It was understood that if the Steering Committee were unable to reach an agreement, the choice would be made by a party caucus.⁹⁶

As a result of this action by the F.M.B.A., in addition to the influence exerted by Galloway and Petrie, the chairman of the Republican Central Committee at once conferred with Streeter. In the course of their conversation Streeter stated that he had deserted the "old moss-back Democratic Party" twenty years before, that his views on the tariff and other issues were well known, and that he would remember his obligations to the party which elected him. It should be added that, according to the same source, there were a number of Republicans who did not seem pleased at this conference.⁹⁷

Not yet were the Republican legislators convinced of the feasibility or wisdom of a fusion with the F.M.B.A. in behalf of any one of these three or of other suggested candidates. Prominent among the other suggested names was that of Cicero J. Lindley, the president of the F.M.B.A. of Illinois.⁹⁸ It now seems strange, especially in the light of later events of this contest, that the two parties did not unite in his support. But Streeter was the declared candidate of the "Big Three," they had consistently voted for him, and he was acceptable to many of the Republicans.

In view of these facts Streeter was invited to appear before the Republican Senatorial Steering Committee on February 6, to express his political opinions. A brief resumé of

⁹⁶ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Feb. 4, 1891.

⁹⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1891.

⁹⁸ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Feb. 6, 7, 1891.

his statements on that occasion follows:

Apart from his primary loyalty to the farmers and workers he would support the Republicans. He favored an increase in the circulating medium, but he was not particular whether the increase should be in the form of silver, silver certificates, or in that of paper. He wanted more money to raise the price of the products of farms and of labor. On the tariff question he favored the Republican theory. His campaign experiences in Arkansas in 1888 had shown him the need in the South for an honest ballot and for a republican form of government. He could, therefore, say that he was with the Republicans on the federal election bill.⁹⁹ But above all he was an independent who would vote for the farmer and worker on those issues which they regarded as of paramount importance.¹⁰⁰

Four days later, February 10, the Republican Steering Committee urged the "Big Three" to stand by Streeter. Cockrell, however, announced that they had lost confidence in Streeter since his interviews disclosed that he had made pledges to the Republicans. Cockrell and Moore then informed Streeter that they were about to drop him as their candidate.¹⁰¹ And on the sixty-sixth ballot, the "Big Three" voted for John P. Stelle.¹⁰²

The second chapter began with this vote for Stelle. Throughout the following week, until February 17, the F.M.B.A. representatives gave him their support. But he aroused no apparent Republican interest and attracted no outside support. During the same week the Republicans dropped Oglesby in favor of Lindley. They seem, however, to have been somewhat doubtful of Lindley's chances for victory; for during two days of that week they made an un-

⁹⁹ This bill had been introduced by Henry Cabot Lodge in 1890.

¹⁰⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1891.

¹⁰¹ *Chicago Times*, Feb. 11, 1891. It should be noted that the *Times* was definitely opposed to Streeter, while the *Tribune* accorded him a remarkable degree of fair treatment and space, probably as a means of defeating Palmer. See, for example, the *Times* for March 9, and the *Tribune* issues of Feb. 19 and March 11.

¹⁰² The dates and official numbers of the ballots have been checked with the *Journal of the Senate of the Thirty-Seventh General Assembly of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, 1891), *passim*.

successful attempt to unite with the F.M.B.A. in support of Moore.¹⁰³ And on February 16 the F.M.B.A. decided to drop Stelle and return to Streeter, though Stelle was reported to be the favorite of Moore.¹⁰⁴

The third and final chapter of this senatorial contest began on February 17. Streeter was once more a candidate and, this time, with strong Republican support. On the one hundred and first ballot, the fourth of that day, he received a total of seventy-five votes, but not the vote of Moore who continued to support Stelle. In a caucus that night the Republicans divided eighty-four to twelve on the question of throwing the party's vote wholly to Streeter.¹⁰⁵ Several of those who voted in opposition to the proposal said that Streeter was a hybrid who had never expressed any Republican views till he needed Republican votes.¹⁰⁶

By this time those Illinois farmers who had not been satisfied with Streeter's reported statements concerning the tariff, free silver, and the Federal Election Bill, were asking how, if elected, he would actually vote in the Senate. Moore and others then called on him to ascertain his opinions at firsthand. Streeter was said to have received them "in the friendly spirit which characterizes all their conferences and cheerfully expressed his willingness to explain in detail his views upon all political and F.M.B.A. principles." But as Cockrell and Taubeneck were not present, it was decided to postpone the conference until the following evening. And on that occasion, February 19, Streeter stated his opinions to the F.M.B.A. and others, including some of Moore's constituents who declared that they wanted Streeter to hold views like those of Moore. What Streeter is reported to have said at this interview might be summarized somewhat as follows:

¹⁰³ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Feb. 11, 13, 14, 1891.

¹⁰⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1891.

¹⁰⁵ *Monmouth Daily Review*, Feb. 18, 1891. The *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 18, gives the vote as eighty-four to fourteen.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

For nearly twenty years he had been loyal to the farmers and to labor. His views were well known. He had now told the Republicans that in exchange for their hundred votes he would support their party on issues not germane to Illinois farmers. His views were not much different from those of Moore. He would prove it by reading from a paper written by Moore and expressing Moore's own views. He agreed with Moore that the farmers wanted a protective tariff, one which should be greatest on luxuries and least on the necessities of life. He agreed also with Moore's statement in favor of income tax and in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. He would, however, limit the coinage of silver to the American production of that metal. He agreed with Moore also in favoring a free ballot and a fair count, but he was not committed to the Lodge Force Bill or to any other particular measure for that purpose. They were further agreed that both the states and the federal government had their own inalienable rights, that we were a nation and not a federation of states. He thought the right to have a free and honest election should rest first with the people of the states and that only when they failed to secure it, should the federal government interfere. He agreed with Moore also in holding that the nation must be strong enough to guarantee equal and exact justice to all with special privileges to none. In conclusion he would say that, if elected, he would pledge himself to act independently and not to enter a Republican or a Democratic senatorial caucus. In consideration of the deciding votes and on issues not germane to the farmers of Illinois, he would support the Republican Party when he could conscientiously do so.¹⁰⁷

In evidence of his satisfaction with this statement, Moore then promised to support Streeter as long as there was a chance of his being elected.

Between February 9 and March 4, more Republicans

¹⁰⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 20, 1891.

joined the Streeter cause. On March 3 his vote had increased to eighty-seven. The next day it reached ninety-seven on the one hundred and thirty-eighth ballot. By that date certain farmer groups were reported indignant over the failure of the Republicans to give him their unanimous support. Aware of this growing indignation, the Republican Steering Committee requested the Central Committee to bring all Republican legislators into line for Streeter. The Central Committee was opposed to an open endorsement, but nonetheless urged the Republicans to act as a unit.¹⁰⁸ And on the ballots of March 6, Streeter reached a total of ninety-eight votes, five short of an election.

Though "the events of the next five days are confused,"¹⁰⁹ two important facts are clear. In the first place we know that Streeter, who fully expected to win, drafted a speech of acceptance. He then unwisely showed it to the "Big Three" for their approval. Moore and Cockrell contended that the speech promised too much to the Republicans. Their sincerity is, however, open to question. Moore was perhaps seeking to promote his own interests as a candidate, and Cockrell had never warmly supported Streeter.¹¹⁰ They quickly conferred with Palmer and on March 10 published an address to the F.M.B.A. of Illinois declaring that the Republicans had obtained from Streeter "such concessions and promises as would, if carried out, entirely unfit him from conscientiously representing the principals of the [F.M.B.A.]" They were sure that an independent could not be elected, that Palmer was in sympathy with many of their demands, that he was honest, and that the voters had shown a preference for him. They announced that they would, therefore, give him their votes on the next day. Taubeneck was not, it should be noted, able to follow them in this reasoning.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ *Monmouth Daily Review*, March 4, 5, 6, 1891.

¹⁰⁹ Destler, "People's Party in Illinois," 69.

¹¹⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 9, 1891.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 11, 1891.

It will be recalled that on the night of February 19, following Streeter's expression of his opinions, Moore had promised to vote for Streeter so long as there was any chance of his election. Yet, now that Streeter's chance was the best that it had ever been, Moore saw fit to give his vote to Palmer. The unfortunate acceptance speech, whatever it may have contained or implied, does not, however, appear to have been the determining consideration in Moore's mind.

That the speech served rather as a convenient pretext is the second outstanding fact. Briefly, the facts are these. Three Republican senators identified with the railroads and corporate interests and two representatives with similar connections refused to vote for Streeter despite the pressure exerted by their party leaders. "Finally they were compelled to support him or to drive the majority of the F.M.B.A. men to abandon him." Senator Evans, the leader of the five, decided upon the latter course; to alienate Moore and Cockrell from Streeter would not endanger Republican unity in the legislature. He arranged for a conference with Cockrell in Chicago during an adjournment of the General Assembly, and there persuaded him that Streeter had given additional pledges to the Republicans beyond those already agreed to by the "Big Three." Cockrell and Moore, believing what Evans had said, broke with Streeter and Taubeneck on March 9 and refused to accept Streeter's denial or to be bound by any conference of F.M.B.A. leaders. The Democrats at once took advantage of this schism and persuaded Moore and Cockrell to vote for Palmer. Unfortunately there is good reason to believe that Democratic persuasiveness was made more effective than usual by financial transactions.¹¹²

On March 11, Cockrell and Moore carried out the terms of their agreement with the Democrats and enabled Palmer to secure the 103 votes necessary for his election. The Re-

¹¹² Destler, "People's Party in Illinois," 69-70, and the references there cited, especially *Joliet Daily News*, March 13, 14, 16, 1891; *Chicago Tribune*, Nov. 3, 1892; George M. Palmer, *John M. Palmer*, 264-65.

publicans, 100 strong, voted for C. J. Lindley. Taubeneck was alone in voting for Streeter who had been defeated by the unyielding opposition of five Republicans aided by the disloyalty of Cockrell and Moore. It is unlikely that those two would have voted for him even if he had secured unanimous Republican support.¹¹³

The next day Streeter and Taubeneck published a statement in moderate terms and at some length reviewing the course of the contest and attacking the reasons given by Moore and Cockrell for changing their votes as they did.¹¹⁴ It is unnecessary, for our purpose, to analyze the statement of these men minutely. In general it adds little to what has already been developed here from other sources. One or two supplementary items may be recorded briefly. They gave, for example, the date of Cockrell's trip to Chicago as March 6, and indicated that his meeting with Evans took place on the following day. They called attention to the suspicion-provoking fact that Moore, so late in the contest and apparently for the first time, should have discovered Palmer's sympathy for F.M.B.A. principles. They denied that Streeter made any "concessions or promises" that would unfit him conscientiously to represent the F.M.B.A. They further denied that Streeter's undelivered speech of acceptance contained anything new that had not already received the approval of the "Big Three." They admitted that Streeter altered his speech to harmonize with the ideas of his two critics. And they reported that after Cockrell returned from Chicago he refused to see Streeter and to read the revised manuscript, saying that he was through with all conferences. They further reported that Taubeneck went to see Moore and reminded him that in publishing their statement of March 10, he and Cockrell had violated an agreement of the F.M.B.A. representatives to consult in all they did. They declared

¹¹³ *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 12, 1891.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1891.

in remarkably restrained language: "We believe that Representatives Moore and Cockrell have not treated us fairly." They called attention finally to an Associated Press news item stating that Senator Evans told Cockrell, in their conference at the Sherman House, that Streeter had given away his independence and would vote with the Republicans in the Senate. They expressed the opinion that Cockrell alone was responsible for that statement. And, as evidence for their belief, they reported that Senator Evans had written of the item: "It is nearly all a fabrication. Nor has Mr. Streeter made any pledges to my knowledge inconsistent with his integrity as an independent man."¹¹⁵

VIII

The national election of 1888 was followed by the disintegration and disappearance of the Union Labor Party. That party's declarations were given little consideration by the victorious Republicans, and the agrarian problems long continued as a disturbing factor in the nation. Differences of opinion arose among the farmers of Illinois and of other agricultural states concerning the wisdom of forming a new third party.¹¹⁶ Streeter was convinced that the demands of the farmer could be carried into legislative enactment only through the agency of an independent political organization. He attended in Springfield, on May 2, 1890, a conference of delegates from the Grange, the Alliance, the F.M.B.A., and the Knights of Labor of Illinois. One of the aims of the conference was to persuade the delegates and also the organizations they represented to work for the election of state legislators who would promote the agrarian interests; it was not proposed to run an independent state ticket. Streeter was admitted to the conference on his claim to represent the Knights of Labor and was appointed to the committee on

¹¹⁵ Streeter Scrapbook.

¹¹⁶ H. C. Nixon, "The Cleavage within the Farmers' Alliance Movement," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (June, 1928), 22-33; Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, Chap. 8.

resolutions. He took an active part in the discussions, openly differing with C. J. Lindley on the silver question, and forcing that gentleman to acknowledge his advocacy of Republican views.¹¹⁷

Early the next year Streeter shared with Colonel S. F. Norton and others in laying the foundations in Illinois for a new party. They supported a call for a national conference to meet at Cincinnati, on May 19, 1891. Under their influence, the Illinois delegation to that conference advocated the immediate formation of an independent national party. Despite vigorous opposition from some of the delegates, a People's Party was organized. H. E. Taubeneck, Streeter's loyal supporter in the senatorial contest, was chosen chairman of the party's executive committee.¹¹⁸

Not again a candidate for office, Streeter actively supported the People's Party. He continued to speak and write for the free and unlimited coinage of silver, which he regarded as a practical aid to the farmer rather than as a panacea for social ills.¹¹⁹ He attended the national convention of the People's Party which opened in Omaha on July 2, 1892, and, assuming the position of a self-appointed agent, labored there in behalf of the candidacy of Judge W. Q. Gresham.¹²⁰ The platform there adopted contained few new features; it restated what he had long maintained and therefore easily gained his support. In the November election, he voted for James B. Weaver, the party's candidate for President.¹²¹

Four years later, in the more famous campaign of 1896, he was again affiliated with the People's Party. Perhaps more than most leaders of that party he stressed the silver issue and neglected other issues now considered as more deserving

¹¹⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, May 3, 1890; George M. Palmer, *John M. Palmer*, 262.

¹¹⁸ Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, 214; Destler, "People's Party in Illinois," 75-77.

¹¹⁹ Streeter Scrapbook; Destler, "People's Party in Illinois," 193, citing the *National Economist*, VII (June 4, 1892).

¹²⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, July 3, 4, 5, 1892.

¹²¹ Streeter Scrapbook.

of his support. At the time of the Democratic convention in July, he wrote from Chicago to the editor of the *Aledo Times-Record*:

I came here as a private citizen to see what the Democratic party might do to promote the cause of the equal coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The free silver Democrats have made a mistake in not calling a conference. They plan to unite all the different silver forces under one banner. But how? By naming a lifelong Democrat and then expecting the other silver forces to support him. . . . At the 1894 elections we polled nearly two million votes. Can the Democrats swallow these votes without our consent? Senator Teller left the Republican Party at St. Louis last June, but he hasn't joined the Democratic Party nor has he said he would join it. . . . Our party should hold a conference with the Teller faction. If we unite with it we can win Republican votes. We should name Teller who is neither a Republican, a Democrat, nor a Populist. He would draw the most Republican votes and all the silver groups could unite on him.¹²²

The stirring "cross of gold" speech apparently converted him to the support of Bryan, if not to that of the Democratic Party. After his return from Chicago he spoke at a flag raising in New Windsor and succeeded in evoking cheers for Bryan and bimetallism.¹²³ A short time later he left for St. Louis and the Populist national convention to which he was a delegate at large.¹²⁴ It is safe to assume that there he used his influence and cast his ballot for Bryan. In a published letter to a friend in Brooklyn, New York, he declared that after Bryan was elected he would be willing to accept payments in silver.¹²⁵ Moreover, a family tradition holds that sometime during the campaign he rode on the train with Bryan, and when it stopped for water at Alpha, Illinois, he introduced the peerless campaigner as the next President.

IX

During the last decade of his life, from the contest for the Senate in 1891 to his death of diabetes and complications

¹²² Streeter Scrapbook.

¹²³ *Aledo Democrat*, July 21, 1896.

¹²⁴ *Aledo Times-Record*, July 23, 1896.

¹²⁵ *Aledo Democrat*, Sept. 15, 1896.

at New Windsor on November 24, 1901, Streeter was mainly concerned with the promotion of his cattle business and the extension of his landholdings. The original farm at New Windsor had been gradually enlarged by later purchases to one of more than 3,000 acres. His lands were not, however, confined to Mercer County. In the winter of 1893-1894 he purchased the Los Mochis tract of 69,000 acres in Mexico. "It lay south of the Fuerte River in Northern Sinaloa and extended south to Topolobampo Bay. The following winter he acquired the Santa Rosa tract of 42,000 acres. It was located to the north and east of Los Mochis which it borders."¹²⁶ In the summer of 1900 he acquired from the Mexican government a concession of one-half the water in the Fuerte River for irrigation purposes.¹²⁷ At the time of his death it was reported that he also had 1,900 acres in Missouri, a large interest in a tract of 25,000 acres in Texas, and other lands in Arizona and in Indian Territory.¹²⁸

Whatever may be said of his achievement in the political arena, his success as a businessman was unquestioned. He stands out as a notable example of what a shrewd, aggressive, and industrious individualist starting with nothing, even in those difficult years for the American farmer, might do in amassing a considerable fortune in land. He must have recognized the incongruity between some of his political doctrines, in particular that for the limitation of land ownership, and his own economic position; at any rate, there is evidence both that it was pointed out to him and that he gave it consideration.¹²⁹ His discontent with the prevailing condition did not grow out of his personal experience with failure; it was rather the result of his reflection upon the experience of others less fortunate than himself.

Therein lies the key to his political philosophy. Streeter,

¹²⁶ This information has been supplied by Clark L. Streeter of Crockett, Calif., a grandson of A. J. Streeter.

¹²⁷ Streeter Scrapbook.

¹²⁸ *Galesburg Republican-Register*, Nov. 25, 1901.

¹²⁹ Streeter Scrapbook.

and those in Illinois who agreed with him—men such as S. F. Norton and L. C. Hubbard, for example—had come to the conclusion that, in the individualistic democracy of nineteenth-century America, the strong had too often gained success by trampling upon the weak. They were more concerned about the rights of humanity than about the rights of property, more concerned about the welfare of all than the success of the few. They believed that the true purpose of law and government was to protect the weak from the loss of rights to those who were stronger. They rejected the economic liberalism of their day with its accepted theory of *laissez-faire*. On the contrary, to restore the economic basis of democracy, they advocated a full use of the powers of government to increase the proper distribution of wealth through control of the currency and of the supply of credit. To the same end, and without endorsing the tenets of socialism, they demanded government ownership of the means of transportation and communication.¹³⁰ Even Streeter's consistent support of a protective tariff seems to have been based on the conviction that a tariff would benefit the farmer and city worker, though he perhaps failed to recognize that it also aided in strengthening the already powerful industrialists and corporations against which he was otherwise contending.

This review of Streeter's life has thrown some light upon his personality and character. In further recording his personal characteristics, it is necessary to rely wholly upon contemporary newspapers. Not until the senatorial contest of 1891, and again at the time of his death ten years later, did the papers manifest real interest in him as a personality. In the contest of 1891, when his victory appeared as a distinct possibility, news and editorial comment were sometimes marked by strong partisanship. One Chicago daily, opposed

¹³⁰ The subject of the political philosophy of the Illinois Populist leaders is more adequately discussed by Destler, "People's Party in Illinois," 53-54. The writer acknowledges indebtedness to him for suggestions.

to his election, declared that he was a man of no principle, "an artist at straddling, a chameleon, too eccentric to be trustworthy," one "who has been anything and everything by turns." It quoted with apparent approval the *Peoria Transcript*, which maintained: "Streeter is a Democrat. So is Palmer. But Palmer is an able Democrat while Streeter is not. . . . Streeter is a crank . . . an accident." And without any indication of dissent, it further quoted a state representative who denounced Streeter as a "traitor, a coward, and a hypocrite."¹³¹

The charge that Streeter was "a chameleon" is perhaps the only one that calls here for an answer. It was, no doubt, based upon his frequent changes of party. It must be admitted that by 1896, when he supported Bryan as a Populist candidate, Streeter had been consecutively identified with five different political organizations. After he abandoned the Democratic Party and became a Greenbacker, these changes were changes in name only, not in his political and economic views. A comparison of the various party platforms reveals a noteworthy consistency of doctrine, especially upon the issues of railroads, corporations, and the expansion of the currency. The agrarian movement developed several consecutive instruments or agencies, but the declared objectives remained substantially the same.

On the other hand, during the same contest, the *Chicago Tribune*, certainly not in sympathy with Streeter's economic and political views, made a remarkable effort both to be fair to him and to make him better known and understood by the people of Illinois. It revealed him as an admirable human being. It reported that, according to one of his neighbors, his only eccentricity was the habit of never wearing a necktie. Perhaps the rather full beard which he wore rendered a necktie a somewhat superfluous bit of raiment. The paper quoted also another neighbor, an old Republican farmer, a

¹³¹ *Chicago Times*, Feb. 23, March 4, 7, 8, 9, 1891.

member of the G.A.R., as saying: "Politically I think Mr Streeter is the most finished acrobat in this country. Personally he is one of the best men I know." Identified with the Congregational Church, he always attended preaching services and was a "pure minded Christian gentlemen," free from the vices of drinking and gambling, as well as from profanity and obscenity.¹³²

By the time of his death the prejudices of the two old parties against the agrarian leaders had largely disappeared. Streeter was no longer actively engaged in politics, no longer considered as important news. The Chicago papers recorded his death with little comment other than to identify him as a former unsuccessful aspirant for high political office. The papers of Galesburg and of Aledo, the two communities which, apart from New Windsor, had known him most intimately, paid him a distinguished tribute. It should perhaps be remarked that these papers were identified with the two old parties. To the *Galesburg Mail* he was "a public spirited and charitable" citizen, "above all a patriot." He was "just a good man who thought he was right about every thing that he did," one who had the "courage of his convictions. There was no nonsense about him, no fire-crackers, no dress parade."¹³³ The *Galesburg Republican-Register* declared that he was "in many ways a remarkable man" whose chief characteristic "was the strength and tenacity of his convictions. He was always in his views close to the people."¹³⁴

The *Aledo Times-Record*, in a well-considered obituary disclosed that Streeter's political views were by no means those of the majority in Mercer County, and added:

One and all acknowledged his honesty and sincerity of purpose, and respected and admired him as a man. The people took a pride in his state and national prominence. For over thirty years he took an active part in politics, was a candidate many times, yet even his opponents could not

¹³² *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 19, March 11, 1891.

¹³³ *Galesburg Mail*, Nov. 28, 1901.

¹³⁴ *Galesburg Republican-Register*, Nov. 25, 26, 1901.

call him an office seeker. . . . He is a splendid type of the successful western farmer. By diligence and application of brains as well as muscle, he showed that farming is not only an independent honorable vocation but that it can be made among the most lucrative.

Above his politics and life work was his character as a man. He was just, liberal, public spirited and enthusiastic. He was ready at all times to concede to others the privilege of opinion, and to acknowledge and amend any error that he himself may have made. He was liberal in mind and ever ready with generous help for all charitable undertakings. Giving aid to partisan and opponent alike, his heart and his pocketbook when confronted by need, knew no politics. Humanity was to him a family and all men were brethren. . . . He believed in democracy. . . and his purse often aided when his judgment disapproved. When once a measure had been decided upon by the community, Mr. Streeter's shoulder would be at the wheel. Throughout his whole life he ever championed what he believed to be the true interests of the people.¹³⁵

The *Aledo Democrat* closed a brief summary of his life and a tribute to his character by saying:

He was an orator of great power and a plain conscientious man always found on the side of a question which he honestly believed to be right. He was always active and progressive and very few were his undertakings which were not successful. So prominent did he become, and so great were his achievements that the civil and political history of Illinois and of the nation would be incomplete without mention of his career.¹³⁶

Allowing for the presence in these obituaries of local pride and for the tendency to rhetorical exaggeration often characteristic of such writing, it nonetheless remains clear that Alson J. Streeter was indeed "a remarkable man" whose name and record deserve to be remembered by students of Illinois history.

¹³⁵ *Aledo Times-Record*, Nov. 28, 1901.

¹³⁶ *Aledo Democrat*, Nov. 26, 1901.

ILLINOIS IN 1945

BY MILDRED EVERSOLE

January 1

William Trelease, author of many books on botany and professor at the University of Illinois from 1913 until his retirement in 1926, dies in Urbana. He was previously the Director of the Shaw Botanical Gardens in St. Louis.

January 2

The acquisition of 275 acres of land near Oregon in Ogle County, to be developed as a state memorial to the late Governor Frank O. Lowden, is announced by Illinois officials. This area along the Rock River was purchased with state funds, augmented by contributions of citizens of the vicinity.

A severe cold wave grips Illinois and other parts of the Middle West. Chicago suburbs report minimum temperatures of fourteen degrees below zero.

January 3

Illinois' second wartime General Assembly convenes in Springfield. Hugh Green, Jacksonville, is elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Edward E. Laughlin, Freeport, is named President of the Senate pro tem. Following these elections and the taking of oaths by new members the two houses meet in joint session to canvass election returns and fix a date for inauguration of state officers.

John L. Beven, president of the Illinois Central Railroad since 1938, dies in his private car at Clinton. He began his

forty-four year career with the Illinois Central as a messenger in New Orleans at the age of thirteen.

January 5

Cancellation of conventions and trade shows involving the attendance of more than fifty persons after February 1 is requested by War Mobilization Director Byrnes. Only gatherings essential to the prosecution of the war will be permitted.

January 6

Selective Service orders induction for all occupationally deferred men, even those below Army physical standards, who quit essential jobs without authorization. This order is applicable to about 5,000,000 men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-seven.

January 8

State officials are inaugurated in Springfield. Oaths of office are taken by: Governor Dwight H. Green, Lieutenant Governor Hugh W. Cross, Secretary of State Edward J. Barrett, State Auditor Arthur C. Lueder, State Treasurer Conrad F. Becker, and Attorney General George F. Barrett. Immediately following the ceremony, Governor Green delivers his second inaugural address.

Illinois' part in the recent Sixth War Loan drive is announced. State-wide sales totaled \$1,532,232,000—148% of the \$1,034,000,000 quota.

The U.S. government and Montgomery Ward & Co. begin their battle in federal court in Chicago to test the power of the President to seize private property. The government charges Wards with being unfair to unionism and the company accuses the government of unlawful concessions to labor.

January 10

A blackout of all outdoor display lighting is ordered by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes, effective February 1, to save the dwindling coal supply. Orders to keep the heat in homes and office buildings to a maximum of sixty-eight degrees are also issued, and all special and excursion trains are withdrawn from service.

January 11

U.S. Navy nurses are now permitted to marry, according to new regulations announced today.

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson announces that the monthly quotas of Selective Service will be raised from 80,000 in January and February to 100,000 from March through June. Substantially all physically qualified men under thirty will be called into service this year.

January 12

Immediate discontinuance of all passenger train schedules operated to provide seasonal service to resorts or recreational areas is ordered by ODT. Branch line trains having less than thirty-five percent occupancy in November, 1944, are likewise eliminated.

WPB orders drastic new restrictions on civilian goods production because of greatly expanded military requirements.

January 16

Fourteen persons die and eight others are injured when fire sweeps through the six-story General Clark Hotel in Chicago.

January 18

Roy A. Gulley, of Sesser, dies at the age of fifty-seven. He was just beginning his second term as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives.

January 22

Robert F. Carr, chairman of the Dearborn Chemical Co. of Chicago, dies at the age of seventy-three. He was a former president of the University of Illinois Board of Trustees and a Chicago civic leader. His home was in Lake Forest.

January 25

Frank R. Reid, Illinois congressman from 1922 to 1935, dies at his home in Aurora at the age of sixty-five. He was a member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1910 to 1912.

January 26

George A. Barr, Joliet attorney and a former president of the University of Illinois Board of Trustees, dies at the age of seventy-one. He served as Director of the State Department of Trade and Commerce from 1920 to 1922.

Heavy snowstorms continue in various parts of the state. In Springfield all records are broken with an average of two inches of snow continuously covering the ground for forty-nine consecutive days.

January 27

Federal Judge Philip L. Sullivan, in Chicago, declares President Roosevelt's order for Army seizure of Montgomery Ward & Co. properties illegal. He contends that there was no authority for taking over the Ward stores and warehouses in seven cities, since they were not engaged in actual production of war goods.

January 31

The U.S. government carries its appeal of the Montgomery Ward & Co. case from the U.S. District Court in Chicago to the Circuit Court of Appeals.

February 1

The nation's blackout of all outdoor display lighting begins. Marquee lights are limited to a total of sixty watts and all outdoor advertising or ornamental lighting is prohibited.

February 2

Dr. Irving S. Cutter, medical director of Passavant Memorial Hospital since 1928, and dean of the Northwestern University School of Medicine from 1928 until he retired in 1941, dies in Chicago at the age of sixty-nine. He was also health editor of the *Chicago Tribune*.

February 14

The Justice Department files a petition asking the U.S. Supreme Court to assume jurisdiction in the Montgomery Ward & Co. case in order to speed the final decision.

February 15

Illinois enters the campaign to enlist new members of the WAC for Army general hospital duty. The state's quota is 405 recruits.

February 16

Training of draft registrants under thirty-eight years of age, physically unfit for military service, who have left essential war jobs, is now being carried on at Camp Ellis, near Lewistown, according to announcement made today. After induction into the Army and four weeks' basic training, they are assigned to work in some government plant, or placed on the inactive list and returned to essential industry.

February 19

A nation-wide midnight curfew for all bars, night clubs, and roadhouses is ordered by War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes to save coal consumed in heating and in providing electricity. The order goes into effect on February 26.

February 24

Selective Service increases its drafting of men aged thirty through thirty-three, by permitting deferment only when they are necessary to an essential industry.

February 26

The nation's midnight curfew, announced a week ago, goes into effect tonight.

March 4

Charles W. Bryan, Democratic vice-presidential candidate in 1924 and three times Governor of Nebraska, dies at his home in Lincoln, Neb. A native of Salem, Ill., he was the brother of the late William Jennings Bryan.

March 6

Montgomery Ward & Co. asks the U.S. Supreme Court to review the decision handed down by the federal district court in Chicago on January 27. On February 14 the U.S. government made a similar request.

March 8

Dr. Edith B. Lowry, widely known physician and author, dies in St. Charles. She was active in public health work in recent years.

March 19

Henry C. Morrison, retired professor of education at the University of Chicago, dies at the age of seventy-three. He was the author of numerous books on public school education.

March 22

James V. Heidinger, sixty-two-year-old member of Congress since 1941, dies at Phoenix, Ariz. A Fairfield, Ill., attorney, he had served three six-year terms as Wayne County judge.

Harry F. Hamlin, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1914 to 1918, dies in Chicago. He was also a former assistant attorney general of Illinois and a municipal court judge in Chicago.

The campaign in Illinois to enlist new members of the Wac

has gone "over the top." A total of 536 enlistments has already been received, though the state's quota was only 405.

March 24

Daniel G. Ramsay, member of the Illinois General Assembly from 1891 to 1893, dies at his home in Chicago. He had practiced law in Chicago for many years.

March 27

Vincent Bendix, sixty-three-year-old inventor and industrialist, dies in New York. A pioneer in the design and building of automobiles, he was chairman of the board of the Bendix Aviation Corporation. He was a native of Moline, Ill.

Chicago's warm weather sets a March record when the temperature rises to 82 degrees.

March 29

L. Hubbard Shattuck, director of the Chicago Historical Society since 1927, dies at the age of fifty-four. He was widely known as a writer and radio commentator on historical museums.

April 4

Governor Green signs into law a new airport authority act designed to aid cities of 5,000 to 500,000 population in financing and operating landing fields.

Two new heads of Illinois code departments are named by Governor Green: Robert L. Gordon, Urbana, Director of the State Department of Labor, and N. P. Parkinson, Decatur, Director of the State Department of Insurance.

The monthly draft call of the U. S. Navy has been halved for the month of May and will be still further reduced in June, according to announcement made today. Numerous enlistments of seventeen-year-olds and fewer casualties than expected are the reasons for the cut.

Willett H. Cornwell, Chicago lawyer, dies at the age of seventy. He was a member of the Illinois Senate from 1910 to 1922.

April 9

Every able-bodied U.S. soldier who has not been overseas will go as quickly as he can be replaced by a returning veteran, according to today's announcement by Secretary of War Stimson.

April 11

Governor Green signs a bill giving cities and villages the power to buy or condemn slum areas needed for housing developments and to remove or demolish buildings on such property. This is the "key" measure in the legislature's slum clearance and housing program.

Thomas Franklin Holgate, professor of mathematics at Northwestern University from 1893 until his retirement in 1934, dies at his home in Evanston. He was also Acting President of Northwestern from 1904 to 1906 and from 1916 to 1919.

April 12

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, thirty-second President of the United States, dies suddenly in the "Little White House" at Warm Springs, Ga. After serving as Governor of New York for two terms, he was elected President in 1932 and had been re-elected for three succeeding terms. He was sixty-three years old. A few hours after his death, Vice-President Harry S. Truman takes the oath of office as President before Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone and members of the Cabinet.

The state's Metropolitan Transit Authority bill is signed into law by Governor Green. It authorizes public ownership and operation of the transportation system in the metropolitan area of Cook County.

April 13

The state and nation mourn the death of President Roosevelt as his body is placed on a special train to be returned from Georgia to Washington, D.C. In Illinois, Governor Green declares tomorrow an official day of mourning and prayer.

A tornado rips through Quincy injuring at least twenty-five persons and causing property damage estimated at more than a half-million dollars. Virtually all electric power lines in the city are broken. A company of militia is called out to patrol the debris-littered streets.

April 14

Simple funeral services for the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt are held in the historic East Room of the White House. Burial will be made at the family home at Hyde Park, N.Y., tomorrow.

April 17

Members of the Illinois House and Senate pay homage to the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt at impressive memorial services held in Springfield.

April 19

N. Max Dunning, architect specializing in public buildings, dies in Washington, D.C., at the age of seventy-two. He had practiced in Chicago most of his life but moved to Washington in 1933.

April 20

Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, dean of Chicago woman lawyers, dies in Evanston at the age of eighty-two. After her admittance to the Illinois bar in 1886, she was associated in practice with her husband for many years.

April 29

Dr. John G. Ames, member of the faculty at Illinois College from 1900 until he retired in 1944, dies in Louisville, Ky.

He served as professor of English during most of that period though he was twice Acting President.

April 30

Mrs. Warder Clyde Allee dies in Chicago at the age of fifty-four. Under the name of Marjorie Hill Allee she wrote numerous books and short stories for children.

May 3

State Representative Arthur J. Quinn is killed in an automobile accident near Braidwood. He was serving his fifth term in the General Assembly.

May 4

John Augur Holabird, Chicago architect, dies on his fifty-ninth birthday. He was a member of the firm of Holabird and Root, designers of many famous buildings in Chicago—among them the Palmolive, Daily News, and Board of Trade buildings, and several hotels.

May 8

The unconditional surrender of Germany is formally ratified, bringing an end to the war in Europe. Virtually all business is suspended as V-E Day is officially observed in all Allied countries.

Brigadier General Cassius Poust, of Sycamore, is named Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, succeeding Rodney H. Brandon, of Batavia, who has resigned.

The nation-wide "brownout," which prohibited outdoor lighting for advertising or decorative purposes, is revoked. With the war ended on one front, the fuel shortage is now less acute.

May 9

The nation-wide midnight curfew and the ban on horse racing are lifted.

President Truman signs legislation extending the Selective Service Act for one year from May 15.

May 10

Conversion of Camp Grant to a reception and reassignment center for Illinois and Michigan troops moving from Europe to the Pacific is announced. The camp will eventually process 2,500 men monthly.

The Army's plan for partial demobilization on the basis of a point system is announced. Length of service, overseas duty, combat awards, and parenthood are the factors on which the plan is based.

May 11

General Dwight D. Eisenhower announces that combat soldiers who fought in both North Africa and Europe will not be sent to the Pacific.

May 12

Illinois' first overseas veterans to be released from the Army under the point system are given their discharges at Fort Sheridan.

May 13

A day of prayer, with thanksgiving for the victory in Europe, is observed in Illinois in accordance with a proclamation of Governor Green.

May 14

The Seventh War Loan drive opens with a goal of \$14,000,000,000.

May 17

Sixty-five hundred Chicago truck drivers strike in protest against a War Labor Board order denying the demands of the Independent Chicago Truck Drivers' Union for a forty-eight hour week and a \$5.00 weekly wage increase.

May 19

A federal court ruling declares that the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad is being illegally held by ODT and orders it returned to its owners. The 239-mile freight line was seized by the government on March 21, 1942, because of a strike.

May 21

Striking Chicago truck drivers are told by the National War Labor Board to return to work "in substantial numbers" by tomorrow or the government will seize the lines.

May 22

Men thirty years old or over who are in any way contributing to the war effort are virtually assured of draft exemption. On the other hand, men in the eighteen to twenty-nine-year-old group may be called soon even if they hold essential jobs.

May 23

Increase of gasoline rations for motorists holding A and B coupons, effective next month, is announced.

The Independent Chicago Truck Drivers' Union orders its 6,500 members to return to work on May 24, just as the government plans to seize the truck lines.

May 27

Dr. George Dinsmore Stoddard, president of the University of the State of New York and Commissioner of Education in that state, is named President of the University of Illinois. He will succeed Dr. Arthur C. Willard, who is retiring on July 1, 1946.

May 30

Chicago gives a rousing welcome to General Mark Clark and fifty other officers and men of the 5th Army, just arrived from a victorious campaign in Italy.

June 1

Immediate removal of the Army from the Hummer Manufacturing Co. in Springfield is demanded by Sewell L. Avery, chairman of Montgomery Ward & Co., of which the Hummer plant is a subsidiary. It was seized by the government on May 21, 1944.

The American Red Cross reports that ninety-nine per cent of our soldiers in German prison camps have survived and are being returned to this country.

June 2

The Army's Surgeon General announces that the Army now has enough nurses and will refuse further applications.

June 4

A record-breaking June cold wave hits the Midwest, the temperature dropping to thirty-eight degrees in Chicago.

June 15

President Truman orders ODT to seize the entire trucking industry in Chicago. Its 80,000 drivers are voting on a strike.

June 16

President Truman issues an executive order declaring that ODT is to continue in possession of the Toledo, Peoria and Western Railroad. A court ruling on May 19 had ordered the road returned to its owners.

Sixty-five hundred Chicago truck drivers strike in defiance of the government. Fifteen hundred military police are called out by ODT to aid the government in driving trucks.

June 17

The Army calls 5,000 more soldiers to help keep Chicago trucks moving.

June 18

Mrs. Francis Neilson dies in Ossining, N.Y., at the age of seventy-six. A daughter of Gustavus F. Swift, Sr., she was a long-time resident of Chicago and a widely known patron of the arts.

June 20

With the Chicago truck drivers' strike now in its fifth day, the Army sends in an additional 10,000 soldiers to help operate the trucks.

The Illinois House and Senate concur in a "gateway" proposal which provides for submission of three amendments to the Illinois Constitution at the next general election, instead of one as formerly provided. The voting law is also amended to aid passage of the bill.

June 25

ODT announces that Chicago's ten-day strike of truck drivers has been broken and strikers will be called back to work immediately.

June 27

After thirty-three years as president of Blackburn College, Dr. William M. Hudson resigns. He will serve as chairman of the finance committee of the college.

June 29

Uniform assessment of property throughout Illinois at full one hundred per cent valuation is required in a bill signed into law today. Heretofore, the rate has varied in different parts of the state all the way from twenty to one hundred per cent.

June 30

ODT imposes a five-day advance limit on railroad passenger reservations. This order is expected to stop considerable civilian vacation travel.

Heavy losses are reported as violent winds sweep across central Illinois. Many trees are blown down and power is disrupted. A company of reserve militia is sent to Delavan, where damages are extensive.

A bill signed by the Governor today provides for increased unemployment compensation benefits. Another prohibits the employment of minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen in hazardous occupations. Legislation modernizing the state's laws on adoption of children is also approved. Another enactment requires that all teachers in Illinois must be paid at least \$1200 annually. The 64th General Assembly is now drawing to a close, with a total of 742 bills passed during its session. Three hundred of these still await action by Governor Green.

July 2

The plant of the Hummer Manufacturing Co. in Springfield is restored to private management. It was seized by the U.S. Army in May, 1944, after a seventeen-day strike.

July 5

Seventy-five per cent of all Pullman cars and first-class railroad coaches will be assigned to military personnel from now on, according to announcement by ODT. The redeployment of troops makes it necessary to move about 400,000 men this month.

July 6

All sleeping-car service between points 450 miles or less apart is ordered discontinued after July 15. In this way, 895 cars now in civilian use will be released for the Army.

July 8

A. L. Bowen, former Springfield newspaper man and welfare worker, dies at the age of seventy-five. He was Director of the State Department of Public Welfare from 1933 to 1940.

July 10

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., reports that the Seventh War Loan sales were \$26,313,000,000—over \$12,000,000,000 more than the goal.

July 11

The U.S. government bans transportation of race horses or show animals, except circus animals, by railroad or commercial motor carriers.

July 17

Among 140 bills signed by the Governor today is an "omnibus" bill appropriating more than \$100,000,000 for postwar improvement and public works. Other recent enactments have provided an additional \$40,000,000 for like purposes. Another bill approved today provides that a radio station can be held responsible for a libelous broadcast only if it had advance knowledge of such statement or the right to prevent it.

July 18

ODT assumes control of all railroad passenger cars. From now on, cars may be shifted from one train to another or from one railroad to another.

Roland R. Meents, veteran legislator from Kankakee, dies at the age of seventy. He served in the Illinois House from 1914 to 1920, and in the Illinois Senate from 1920 to 1932.

July 20

Sale of the Merchandise Mart in Chicago, the world's largest commercial building, is announced. The building was purchased from Marshall Field & Co. by Joseph P. Kennedy, former ambassador to Great Britain.

July 21

ODT bans all organized group travel. The sale of railway tickets to travel agencies is also prohibited.

July 24

A \$5.00 increase in maximum old-age pensions in Illinois is provided for in a bill signed by Governor Green. The top payment will now be \$45 per month.

July 26

Ten million dollars is appropriated to the state housing board for slum clearance and housing construction, under the terms of a bill signed by the Governor. One-half of this amount may be used for Chicago housing projects. Another bill approved today requires that all drivers of automobiles involved in accidents resulting in injury, death, or property damage exceeding \$50 shall report the accident to the Illinois Division of Highways and prove financial responsibility.

July 27

Plans for a new state park in the extreme southern end of Illinois, near Golconda, are announced. The state is purchasing the Dixon Springs tract, formerly operated as a private summer resort.

Governor Green completes action on the 742 bills passed by the 64th Illinois General Assembly. He has approved 682 bills, vetoed 51, and allowed 9 to become law without his signature.

July 28

A possible strike on the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee and the Chicago, Aurora & Elgin railroads is prevented when management representatives reach an agreement with the union leaders. A pay increase, retroactive to December 28, 1944, is granted.

August 1

George B. McKibbin of Chicago resigns as State Director of Finance and Mark Saunders of Kewanee is named to succeed him.

August 2

The War Department announces that it will seek the enlistment of 10,000 Wacs within the next six months.

August 4

John F. Gilchrist, pioneer in the electrical utilities industry, dies in Chicago at the age of seventy-seven. He was with the Commonwealth Edison Co. for fifty-five years, serving as vice-president from 1914 until he retired in 1942.

August 7

President Truman and Secretary of War Stimson announce the development of an atomic bomb which will revolutionize warfare. A single bomb, more powerful than 20,000 tons of TNT, was dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, yesterday, causing unbelievable destruction and loss of life.

August 8

Russia enters the war against Japan and immediately begins offensive operations against Manchukuo. Forty-nine countries are now at war with Japan.

August 9

A second atomic bomb is dropped on Japan, the target this time being Nagasaki, in western Kyushu Island. Thirty per cent of this city of 253,000 population is destroyed.

August 10

The nation anxiously awaits peace as Japan announces her willingness to surrender if Emperor Hirohito is permitted to remain in power. The United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China are conferring on details of the capitulation.

August 11

The Big Four Allied powers, in a conditional acceptance of Japan's bid for peace, declare that the Emperor must subject himself to the orders of a supreme Allied commander and that the government ultimately established in Japan must be one expressly desired by the people.

August 14

President Truman announces the complete and unconditional surrender of Japan. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur is named supreme commander of the Allied forces which will occupy the Japanese home islands. Uproarious celebrations of victory are held in all Allied nations.

The War Manpower Commission abolishes all controls, giving the nation a free labor market for the first time in two years. Reconversion and full employment at the earliest possible date are immediate objectives.

Selective Service will reduce inductions from 80,000 to 50,000 men per month. Only sufficient men to support occupation forces and relieve men with long overseas experience will now be needed.

August 15

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur directs Japan to cease hostilities at once and to send plenipotentiaries to Manila to receive the Allied terms.

Reconversion notes: canned fruits and vegetables, gasoline, and fuel oil are removed from the ration list; automobile rationing may stop by the end of the year; numerous household appliances will be manufactured again; millions of dollars' worth of war contracts are canceled by the Army; a point release system for men in the Navy, Coast Guard, and Marine Corps is announced; the Navy will release 1,500,000 to 2,500,000 men in the next eighteen months, and the Army expects to discharge 5,000,000; ODT permits small conventions and state and regional fairs to be held. Numerous other wartime restrictions are also lifted, but certain other controls—including ceilings on food, clothing, and rents—are retained.

August 16

The nation tries to settle down to a normal life after a two-day celebration of peace.

August 17

Transportation of race horses and show animals is allowed by ODT.

August 18

Allen F. Moore, former Monticello manufacturer and banker, and a member of Congress from Illinois, 1921-1925, dies at the age of seventy-five. He had lived in San Antonio in recent years.

The nation-wide automobile speed limit of thirty-five miles per hour is lifted by ODT. It was placed in effect as a tire conservation measure in September, 1942.

August 19

Today is observed throughout the nation as a day of thanks for victory and prayer for wisdom in peace.

DDT insecticide is sprayed over a part of Rockford by a specially-equipped Army bomber, in an attempt to halt the spread of infantile paralysis. One hundred and forty cases, with a total of sixteen deaths, have been reported in this area since July 1.

August 20

September drafts for the Navy and Marine Corps are reduced from 22,000 to 13,000.

WPB removes limitations on the manufacture of 210 items of civilian goods. This is the first mass lifting of industrial restrictions. In the meantime, the number of unemployed war workers is increasing steadily as war plants continue to close.

August 21

WPB permits construction of factories and industrial plants without special authorization.

August 22

ODT announces that after November 1 all wartime restrictions on wholesale and retail delivery services will be abolished. WPB revokes more wartime restrictions.

The Army Air Forces report that 1,400,000 of their 2,300,000 men will be discharged in the next year.

The U.S. Census Bureau reports its latest figures. Illinois, with a population of 7,729,720 on July 1, 1944, shows a 2.1% decrease since 1940. This is largely due to inductions in the armed forces.

August 24

WPB removes all quotas in the production of passenger cars.

The 6,605-mile Illinois Central Railroad system is seized by the government in the face of a strike threat by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. The walkout is indefinitely postponed.

August 25

President Truman orders the federal government to turn back to private management, as soon as possible, the twenty-four properties seized during the war. In Illinois, this includes Montgomery Ward & Co. in Chicago and the Toledo, Peoria & Western Railroad.

August 30

Enlistments in the Women's Army Corps are discontinued and Wacs will be demobilized on a basis proportionate with men in the Army. The Corps numbered 95,000 on August 1.

September 2

On board the U.S.S. *Missouri* in Toyko Bay, an unconditional surrender document is signed by Allied and Japanese officials. Under its terms, the Japanese people are subject to the authority of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander for the Allied powers. In the United States, official V-J Day is observed as a day of prayer and thanksgiving.

The Army announces that all enlisted men of thirty-five years or over who have had at least two years' military service will be released on application. A cut in the number of points necessary for discharge is also announced.

September 4

Infantile paralysis is decreasing in northwestern Illinois, with no new cases reported. Twenty-seven persons in this area have died of the disease this year.

The War Department rules that no soldiers thirty-seven or more years old will be sent overseas, and none who had forty-five or more discharge points on May 12 will be sent out of this country.

September 5

Pullman space may now be reserved fourteen days in advance, instead of five, under a new regulation of ODT.

September 8

American troops formally enter Tokyo and our flag is raised on the U.S. Embassy.

September 11

ODT announces that on October 1 the wartime ban on all conventions, trade shows, and group meetings will be lifted.

September 12

All cheese rationing ends.

September 14

The Army's plan to release 13,000 doctors, 3,500 dentists, 25,000 nurses, and many other medical officers by January 1, 1946, is announced.

September 15

Captain Robert Dewey, of Winnetka, is appointed Director of the new Illinois Department of Aeronautics. He recently returned from Italy where he served with the 15th Air Force.

September 18

Government restrictions on home construction as well as on public works and commercial construction will end on October 15, according to announcement by War Mobilization Director John W. Snyder.

September 19

Three B-29s land in Chicago after a non-stop flight from the island of Hokkaido in twenty-five hours and forty-five minutes. The crew had intended to fly direct to Washington, but a shortage of gasoline brought them down at Chicago airport after a 5,995-mile trip.

September 20

The Army announces that only sixty points will be needed by enlisted men for discharge after November 1, and seventy-five for officers after October 1. Proportionate reductions are also granted to Wacs.

September 24

An award for having produced "America's finest recreational program for Illinois workers and their families" is presented to the state of Illinois by the New York Museum of Science and Industry. Livingston E. Osborne, State Director of Conservation, receives the award for the state.

September 25

John A. Swanson dies at his home at Grays Lake at the age

of seventy-one. He had served one term each in the Illinois House and Senate, was successively judge of the Municipal Court of Chicago and the Circuit Court of Cook County, and later state's attorney of Cook County.

September 27

OPA announces that one-third of all meats will be taken off the ration list on October 1. Meat supplies are increasing steadily.

September 30

The nation returns to standard time. The clocks were turned up an hour on February 9, 1942, when war time was adopted to save electricity.

Edward G. Hayne, serving his fifth term as a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at the age of seventy-one. His home was in Ottawa.

Roger F. Little, member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1920 to 1934, dies at his home in Champaign.

October 3

Dr. James Taft Hatfield, retired professor of German at Northwestern University, dies at the age of eighty-three. He was the author of numerous books on German literature.

October 4

President Truman abolishes WPB, effective November 3, and transfers its powers to a new agency to be known as the Civilian Production Administration.

October 5

A four-hour work stoppage of telephone operators and other workers on a nation-wide scale occurs. It is called as a "demonstration of power" by the National Federation of Telephone Workers in protest against a decision of the National Labor Relations Board.

October 8

The specialized training program for Waves will be ended early in December, according to announcement made today.

October 10

The Chicago Cubs lose the world's baseball championship to the Detroit Tigers by a defeat in the last game of the World Series at Wrigley Field in Chicago.

October 15

John J. Hallihan, Illinois Democratic leader, dies at his home in Springfield. He was Director of the State Department of Registration and Education under Governor Horner.

October 18

The U.S. government relinquishes control of Montgomery Ward & Co. properties in Chicago and six other cities. The Chicago plant was taken over by the government last December at the height of a labor dispute.

October 21

Howard Leonard, Illinois Director of Agriculture since January, 1941, dies at the age of sixty-six. A resident of Eureka, he had been active in Illinois agricultural life for many years.

Dr. Isaac Rawlings, Director of the Illinois Department of Public Health from 1921 to 1929, dies at the age of seventy-six. He was also a public health official in Chicago for many years.

October 22

Ray A. Dillinger, Decatur, is named Acting Director of the State Department of Agriculture to succeed the late Howard Leonard.

October 23

James M. Graham dies at the age of ninety-three. He was a member of the Illinois House of Representatives from 1884

to 1886 and a member of Congress from 1908 to 1914. He had practiced law in Springfield for many years.

October 26

The University of Illinois airport is dedicated with a two-hour air show. Consisting of 772 acres, it is the largest airport in the state.

October 29

The Victory Loan drive opens with a goal of \$11,000,000,000.

October 30

Rationing of shoes is ended today.

November 1

Travel by bus in Illinois is seriously curtailed as 4,000 employees of the Greyhound Bus Lines east and south of Chicago go on strike because of a wage dispute. Drivers, ticket agents, and garage employees are included among the strikers.

November 5

The U.S. Supreme Court refuses the request of Montgomery Ward & Co. for a decision as to whether the government was right or wrong in its seizure of the company's properties in December, 1944.

November 8

Secretary of Agriculture Anderson announces that all rationing of meat will end by January 1. American food supplies have been greatly increased recently.

November 11

Admiral William F. ("Bull") Halsey, Jr., commander of the 3rd Fleet, visits Chicago. He will take part in the city's official Armistice Day celebration to be held tomorrow.

November 15

Arnold P. Benson, of Batavia, is named Director of the State Department of Agriculture. Howard Leonard, former Director, died on October 21.

November 16

The state's purchase of the Dickson Indian Mounds near Havana is announced. This area will be used as a state park. The Payne Indian collection is also included in the purchase.

The War Department lowers the point score for enlisted men from sixty to fifty-five points, effective December 1. Similar reductions for officers and Wacs are also announced.

November 17

"Thirty-third Division Homecoming Day" is celebrated at Fort Sheridan. Many men of this Division, formerly members of the Illinois National Guard, have just returned from the Pacific campaign.

November 18

Ernest J. King, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Fleet, is chief speaker at the opening session of the national convention of the American Legion in Chicago.

November 19

The first direct airline service from Chicago to London is inaugurated by the American Airlines System. The plane making the first flight has a capacity of forty passengers and is expected to make the 4,000-mile trip in twenty-one hours. The present schedule includes one weekly flight each way.

One hundred and fifteen communities of the state are without long distance telephone service as 8,700 Illinois operators go on strike. Local service is maintained where dial telephones are used.

November 20

General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower receives a rousing welcome when he arrives in Chicago to accept the American Legion's Distinguished Service Medal.

George W. Smith, author of several books on Illinois history and member of the faculty at Southern Illinois Normal University for over forty years, dies at his home in Carbondale. He was a Vice-President of the Illinois State Historical Society.

November 21

Public ownership of transit facilities in Chicago and Cook County appears possible as the Illinois Supreme Court upholds the legislative act creating the Chicago Transit Authority.

November 24

All rationing of meats, canned fish, and food fats is ended. Sugar is now the only food left on the ration list.

The six-day strike of 8,700 Illinois telephone operators ends when strikers are given a \$6.00 a week wage increase and an additional \$2.00 weekly raise by February, 1946.

November 30

Henry B. Ward, internationally known conservationist and professor emeritus of zoology at the University of Illinois, dies at his home in Urbana. He was eighty years old.

December 13

George A. Jones, member of the Illinois House of Representatives, dies at the age of forty-six. His home was in Tuscola.

December 19

All drafting of fathers is ended, and men with three or more children will no longer be accepted for enlistment. Both Army and Navy make further cuts in the number of points needed for discharge.

December 20

State officials announce that 625 acres will soon be added

to Illinois Beach State Park, near Waukegan. The total area of the park will then be 1,104 acres.

Rationing of tires will end on January 1, 1946, according to announcement made by Chester Bowles, head of OPA. Tires have been on the ration list since January 5, 1942.

December 22

The worst travel jam in the nation's history occurs as thousands of servicemen and civilians join in a "home for Christmas" movement. All trains, buses, and terminals are packed, and many people are unable to get transportation. To complicate the situation, most of the trains are many hours late.

December 23

Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago is one of the four new cardinals from the United States selected by Pope Pius XII.

More than one hundred Army jeeps and trucks meet servicemen and women at Chicago terminals, providing transportation to other stations or to their homes if they live nearby. This service is provided by 100 officers and 627 enlisted men of the Illinois Reserve Militia, called out by Governor Green.

December 24

Motor travel throughout Illinois is slowed or completely stopped by snow, sleet, and freezing rain. Though state highway crews work steadily, motorists are warned that travel is extremely dangerous.

The nation's greatest traffic tie-up ends as many weary travelers reach their destinations. Another rush is expected in a few days, however, when some of them start on return trips.

December 25

Christmas travel by motor is extremely perilous. Highways in the northern two-thirds of the state are covered with snow and ice.

December 28

President Truman signs a bill liberalizing the "G.I. Bill of Rights." One of its chief features is a \$15 increase in monthly living allowances for G.I. college students, with single veterans getting \$65 and married ones receiving \$90. Increased maximum government loans on real estate are also permitted by this legislation.

December 31

Greyhound bus drivers and maintenance employees in eighteen states, including Illinois, agree to end their two-months-old strike. Buses will be moving again before the end of the week.

Agricultural summaries for the year 1945 in Illinois show a crop value of \$817,000,000—the highest since 1919. This is the seventh consecutive year in which these values have increased.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

FORTY YEARS OF PIONEER LIFE. MEMOIR OF JOHN MASON PECK D.D. Edited from His Journals and Correspondence by Rufus Babcock. Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1864.

The peculiarly colorful career of Peter Cartwright has eclipsed the activities of another important early-day circuit rider named John Mason Peck. All specialists in the history of Illinois a century ago know Peck's *Gazetteer of Illinois* and *Guide for Emigrants* to be among the essential tools necessary for a reconstruction of the story of the state as it was in the 1830's and 1840's. In lieu of one of these rare little volumes an Illinois bookshelf must at least have *Forty Years of Pioneer Life. Memoir of John Mason Peck D.D.*, edited from his journals and correspondence by Rufus Babcock.

John Mason Peck was born in 1789 in Litchfield, Connecticut. A devout Congregationalist, he questioned the efficacy of infant baptism at the time of the birth of the first of his ten children. To assure salvation for his ever-increasing brood he joined the Baptist Church. After five years' preaching in New York pastorates, Peck decided to go west as a missionary to the heathen pioneers. In 1817, he set off with his wife and the three children then constituting his family. The trip was long and arduous. The Pecks went first to Philadelphia, then to Pittsburgh, to Zanesville and Chillicothe, next to Lexington and Louisville. Their first entry into Illinois was at Shawneetown. Peck recorded this event in his journal by writing:

[November] 6th. Our arrival was late, and little could be learnt in regard to this wretchedly-appearing village. Here the glad tidings of salvation are but seldom heard. We are now properly on missionary ground, which from its location and destitute state must belong to our field.

Bad weather checked the missionary's progress. For several days he watched the falling rain disconsolately. The roads had become impassable and his family's board bill increased with every meal. On November 7 he wrote in his journal:

Friday, *November 7th*. Weather cloudy, with some rain. We are now at the public house kept by Dr. H. Oldham, where we are lying [at] an expense, waiting for a turn of weather in our favor. Gentlemen, lately from St. Louis and Kaskaskia, represent the roads for fifty miles as extremely bad; but, as every kind of carriage is passing, we apprehend no insuperable difficulty. O Lord, preserve us from harm!

Met with Mr. Paine, my brother-in-law, who has been waiting here for us nearly three weeks. He is designing to accompany us to St. Louis.

The waters in the Ohio are rising rapidly. Should the banks become full, this village must be overflowed. Immense quantities of driftwood are floating down the river, rendering the crossing very difficult.

In the evening I preached, at the house where we lodge, to a goodly number of people, from Acts xiii. 26, last clause. A decent and solemn attention was given. Oh, that the word of salvation may be sent with power to the people of this village!

Saturday, *8th*. Through the whole night the rain has fallen in torrents, and continues to pour down. The river has risen the past night between two and three feet, with the certain prospect of overflowing the town, should it long continue to rise. What is to be done, I know not. In addition to the deep mud, hitherto our chief obstacle, we are now to encounter the swollen creeks and rivers, rendered, for some days at least, impassable. Still I am not disheartened. Divine Providence will open some way for our relief. Should a convenient boat come down the river, bound for St. Louis, I am inclined to think it will be best to send on my family by water.

Evening. The rain has continued unabated, and the river rises rapidly, threatening to deluge the town. Several times it has been overflowed and destroyed by water, but always in the spring. Never was it known to rise so high at this season of the year before. Back of the town, only one-half mile distant, the water has become so deep as to be impassable with our wagon. Just at sunset there was a breaking away of the clouds in the west, indicating fair weather to-morrow. But passing is impossible until the waters on our road are fallen. Here we are obliged to remain till the providence of God shall relieve us from our present perplexed condition.

I stepped into a grocery where were assembled a number of wild fellows, swearing and blaspheming at a most horrid rate. I have seen enough of Shawneetown to justify what is reported of it as a most abandoned place. There are some decent, clever families; but I have conversed with none who seem decidedly religious. To-morrow will show how the Sabbath is regarded. I never saw a place more destitute of religious instruction; and yet unless very prudent measures are pursued, little good can be expected to result.

Lord's-day, *9th*. At an early hour a boat came along, bound to St. Louis; and, leaving Brother Welch to conduct the religious services which had been announced, my family and I stepped on board it, compelled thereto by our necessity, as I thought, and took our leave of Shawneetown. The arrangement was that Brother Welch and wife should wait for the subsiding of the waters, and come on by land; and my Brother

Paine should take on my horse and wagon, while my wife and little ones would be more comfortable in the little six-by-ten feet cabin of the keel-boat, which my family shared with the captain, having accommodations for cooking and eating in what they call the "midships" section of the boat. The captain, J. Nixon, appears very friendly, and is to carry me and my family to St. Louis for twenty-five dollars. The hands are young men, going into the Western country, and as yet conduct themselves with decent civility. Though a little crowded, we feel ourselves comfortable and happy. Down the Ohio we are pleasantly floating with the gentle current, while nothing opposes our course but a slight breeze from the west, which only renders our passage more agreeable. The banks present little diversity for a considerable distance except a few moderate hills on the Illinois side. The flat country back from the river is now overflowed. The day is given to devout meditation.

Evening. The sun has just set behind the woods of Illinois, exhibiting a most beautiful sight after so much bad weather.

By November 14 the vessel on which the family were continuing their journey had passed Cairo and rounded the point into the Mississippi. The Rev. John M. Peck described the party's progress in his entry of that date:

Friday, 14th. Weather rainy. About sunrise the boat was under weigh again, proceeding up the Mississippi. Various methods are employed in propelling a boat against the current in these large rivers. When the wind is favorable the sail is used; but often we are obliged to creep along shore, and by the help of oars, or long poles, and sometimes by catching hold of bushes, the men are enabled to drag the boat along. In some cases, where the banks are sufficiently high, a rope of a hundred fathoms length is attached to the top of the mast, and men walking on the shore drag the boat after them. A little past noon the wind and rain obliged us to lie to, under the Missouri shore, where we spent the night.

Peck established his residence in St. Louis, then set out on his missionary pilgrimages in Missouri and Illinois. The latter state was preparing to enter the Union. Peck went to Kaskaskia, the territorial capital, on missionary business, but while there he noted some of the irregularities incident to Illinois' admission to statehood:

Our business at Kaskaskia had no connection with government affairs, and we spent only one night. We called at the only hotel kept in the place, by Mr. Bennett, who subsequently became a pioneer in Galena. We had a slight acquaintance with him at St. Louis, but he regretted to inform me that he did not think it possible to accommodate me. Every room was occupied, and every bed had two or more lodgers. I laughed at his scruples, and told him I was a real missionary, and could camp on the floor with my saddle-bags for a pillow. At last it occurred to him that one of his beds had but one occupant that night, the fellow-lodger being absent. It was a small room, and the bed, none too wide for two, was

occupied by Adolphus Frederick Hubbard, Esq., one of the delegates from Gallatin county. Mr. H. had seen me in Shawneetown, and no sooner was my name announced to him by the landlord than he insisted I should share the hospitality of his bed. Being thus made comfortable, I learned from my room-mate something of the progress made in the construction of the new Government. There are a few incidents, gathered at a subsequent period, that may be admitted in these reminiscences.

In the formation of new States, from territorial possessions under the Government of the United States, but one uniform rule was observed in the pristine period of our national history. Congress, under the authority of the Constitution, exercised the entire powers of government. The first step after marking out the boundaries of a new territory was to endow the Governor and Judges with the authority to make a code of laws for the people. Soon as the governor saw the population and orderly habits of the people justified the measure, he made proclamation, and authorized the election of the House of Representatives. This body came together and nominated certain citizens—twice the number to which they were entitled—for a "council," or Senate. These names were sent to the President, who made a selection, and brought them before the House for confirmation. The House and the Council constituted the territorial Legislature. In this mode the territories of the Northwest, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, Orleans (now Louisiana), Upper Louisiana (afterward Missouri), and Arkansas, came into existence. Each of these territories became a State by virtue of a special charter from Congress; conventions were elected by qualified voters; a constitution adopted, and each was received as one of the States in union. Arkansas was an exception in forming a *State* government. The people, without law, formed a constitution in 1836. It was a period of the prevalence of a spurious democracy or rather anarchy, which sets at defiance all law, and claims what no person has any right, or can possess under a government of laws—that of *popular sovereignty*. No such fallacy exists, or can exist, wherever the boundaries and laws of a State, an organized territory, or the Constitution and laws of the United States exist.

But to return to Illinois. The territory had been divided into fifteen counties, which, according to population, sent thirty-two delegates. St. Clair county being the oldest and most populous sent three; Madison and Gallatin, being next in population, sent also three each.

Madison, Bond, and Crawford were the three northern counties across the State. All north was a wilderness, and one-half of the territory then was supposed to be uninhabitable. By a grant in the charter of 1787, of the Northwestern Territory, five States, within prescribed limits, could form constitutions and be admitted into the Union upon evidence of sixty thousand inhabitants; but on a special act of Congress the same district could form a State government on evidence of forty thousand population. Illinois, by its territorial legislature, the preceding winter petitioned Congress, and the charter was granted for forty thousand. Marshals were appointed in all the counties to take the census. As the period of their labors drew nigh, it became doubtful whether the requisite number could be obtained. The public roads leading across the territory were watched;

families were found that were said to have been missed; and after every effort to make up the number, it was officially proclaimed that the requisite number, with some two or three hundred surplus, had been found. The emigration that season was large; and no doubt, before the constitution was submitted to Congress in December, some three or four thousand additions were made to the population.

Discontinuing his missionary work after a few years, Peck held pastorates in several different churches in Illinois and also in Missouri and Kentucky. He established his home at Rock Spring, Illinois, in 1822, and he considered that to be his home even when he was preaching elsewhere. Peck was also steadily engaged in writing articles and books on the West. During the Thirties his guidebooks and gazetteers sold so well that new editions were frequently necessary.

Though Peck took little part in politics, he was deeply interested in the slavery contest. He was not in sympathy with the extreme measures favored by the abolitionists, but he did oppose the extension of slavery into Illinois and other new territory. He was also active in the work of the Colonization Society and at his death he left part of his property to the work of colonizing Negroes in Africa.

Contemporaries of John Mason Peck remember him as a fluent conversationalist. In any group he had to be the center of attention. No one else had an opportunity for more than a nod of approval. His desire for self-expression is noticeable in many pages of his journal. Time and again he says that on his travels he heard of a church assemblage in the distance and drove all night or through a downpour of rain to help the scheduled minister save souls. Quite naturally some ministers disliked having their services usurped, but all of them admitted that John Mason Peck possessed sincerity, fluency, and energy.

Though Peck was deeply interested in missionary work and in writing books, he also had time to promote the cause of education in the West. He was largely responsible for the establishment of Rock Spring Seminary in 1827. This school was later moved to Upper Alton. In Boston in 1835 Peck's ability to talk persuaded Benjamin Shurtleff to endow the Rock Spring Seminary with \$10,000, and it has been known as Shurtleff College ever since that time.

HISTORICAL NOTE

NEW ELIHU BURRITT LETTERS

In these days of groping for the foundation of an enduring peace some letters written by Elihu Burritt, which were recently acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library, become unusually interesting. Known as "the Learned Blacksmith," Elihu Burritt was the common man's apostle of world peace a hundred years ago. A blacksmith by trade with a genius for foreign languages, he soon quit welding corks on the toes of horseshoes to weld ideas in the heads of people. Education, the dissemination of knowledge, "ocean penny postage," seemed to him the logical route to international understanding. At the time war threatened between England and the United States over Oregon, he tried to neutralize the vicious American slogan, "Fifty-four Forty or Fight," with pacific resolutions from non-belligerent groups on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1846 Burritt organized a League of Universal Brotherhood. He called conventions in London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Paris, Brussels, and Frankfort to build an international structure for world peace. Large and enthusiastic crowds rallied around him, but the unseasoned framework collapsed in 1854 under the weight of the Crimean War.

During the American Civil War, Lincoln sent Burritt to Birmingham as consular agent. The sympathy of English working people was important to the Union cause, and a Learned Blacksmith seemed to be an appropriate representative of a Rail-splitting President. Burritt spent much of his time lecturing in England, as the following letter in the Illinois State Historical Library indicates:

4 HARDINGE STREET
ISLINGTON, March 23/65

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been waiting a day or two before answering your note, to see if I should be free for next Monday evening, the 27th to take tea with you: I have offered any night next week for a lecture in Essex, and have not heard which has been selected. I think, however, I am safe for Monday evening, and if they do not hit upon that time for my lecture, I will be with you (D.V.) My neice is much obliged for the information, but thinks she will not venture out on that evening.

Yours Truly
ELIHU BURRITT

Burritt remained in Birmingham after Lincoln's assassination. In July, 1865, he wrote the following letter to Benjamin Moran, self-important and critical secretary to Charles Francis Adams, United States minister to Great Britain:

35 EXCHANGE.
BIRMINGHAM.
July 10./65

Benj. Moran esq.

DEAR SIR.

The head of a very respectable Birmingham firm called Saturday, to ask if I could give them any assistance or advice in getting into communication with Our Government, in reference to *coining* any new issue of specie from our mint, especially bronze coinage. I told him that I thought our Minister at London would be the best authority he could apply to on the subject. He has probably ere this addressed Mr Adams in reference to the matter. I enclose two or three testimonials he left with me. The house seems to have done a great deal in this line, and have certificates of merit from many countries, & in many languages, even in Arabic. So, if our Gov't wishes and needs foreign help in this line, I should think the Heatons would execute any order with great promptness and efficiency.

Yours Truly
ELIHU BURRITT

Elihu Burritt stayed abroad until 1870. While there, he helped to organize The International Land and Labour Agency to assist prospective emigrants to America. Finally he returned to New Britain, Connecticut, where he spent the remaining years of his life. In August, 1873, he took his family to Canada for rest and recreation. Still internationally minded, he was deeply interested in an Association for the Reform and Codification of the Laws of Nations, but his own health did not permit him to attend its convention.

A letter from St. Catharines, Ontario, to M. L. Simons is interesting because it contains a reference to a little known work of Burritt's entitled *Old Burchell's Docket for the Children*. Michael Laird Simons was an author and editor of religious books. In 1871 he compiled *Sunday Half-hours with the Great Preachers*, and in 1877 he edited a collection of sermons delivered at the Moody and Sankey meetings in Chicago. His bibliography of Elihu Burritt's work seems to have disappeared.

ST. CATHARINES, ONT.
Aug. 12/73

DR SIR.

Your favor has been sent on to me here, where I am spending a few weeks. Your list of my works are pretty complete, and accurately named. I got up two books for children in 1866-7, entitled "Jacob & Joseph and

the Lesson of the Lives," and "Old Burchells' Docket for the Children," but it is not necessary to add these to your list. None of these books have been republished in the U.S.

Of course you will see that the prices you publish are correctly printed.

Yours Respectfully
ELIHU BURRITT
NEW BRITAIN
CONN.

Mr M. L. Simons

The nations of Europe and America emerged from the Crimean and American Civil wars more nationalistic than ever. An era of jingoism and high protective tariffs ensued. The trend seemed to be away from the internationalism for which Elihu Burritt had worked all his life. As a writer, the Learned Blacksmith might have been expected to favor the agitation for an international copyright law which had been started in 1837 by George P. Putnam, but which had been eclipsed, like other world movements, by the shadows of national wars. Elihu Burritt did not live to see the final passage of the reciprocal copyright law of 1891, and, strangely enough, his biographers have not included the copyright struggle in his activities, but the following letter shows plainly where he stood on the issue:

NEW BRITAIN CT. NOV. 21/74

C. A. Wells Esq

MY DEAR SIR.

Do you see the *London Athenaeum* regularly or occasionally? If so, let me beg you to notice a letter from Dr Wm Chambers, in the no for Nov. 7, describing the forgery Lippincotts & co interpolated into the American Edition of Chambers' Encyclopedia—or the cancelling of stereotype plates to inject Henry Cary's worst protectionism into the work. If you do not take the *Atheneum*, or cannot easily find it, I will send you the no by post; for I hope you will show up the transaction in its true light.

Yours Very Truly
ELIHU BURRITT.

The "Henry Cary" referred to above is Henry Charles Carey, a free trader in the Jacksonian era who, like Friedrich List in Germany, now led a group of Americans to favor high protective barriers to break down Great Britain's economic control of world trade—a procedure that developed the nationalistic fervor which led straight as an arrow to World War I and punctured once more Elihu Burritt's dream of international peace.

JAY MONAGHAN.

SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

AN ILLINOIS CONGRESSMAN'S EXPERIENCE WITH SLAVERY

Washington was, at that time [the Eighteen Forties] the greatest slave-mart in the United States. Within sight of the capitol, not far from the lower gate, and near, if not upon, the land where the public garden now is, was a building with a large yard around it, enclosed with a high fence. Thither slaves were brought from all the slave-holding region, like cattle to the Chicago stock-yards, and locked up until sold. There were regular auction days for those not disposed of at private sale. The Chicago Fire destroyed a hard cracker which I had preserved as a specimen by which purchasers tested the age of slaves. And to this day, if there is anything that the average Southern negro does not know, it is his own age. The slaves were placed upon a block, and, when the question arose as to age, the auctioneer requested them to bite from a cracker, which all slave auctioneers kept for such occasions. The theory was that while a slave could masticate well he could work. Nearly all the labor of Washington was performed by slaves, many of whom were hired from the neighboring States. The slaves were expected to collect their wages monthly and take them home on some Saturday night.

One morning, I missed my boots, and when I went for the boot-black, he was missing also. After a few days, I saw a procession of captured slaves, who had sought their liberty in a Potomac schooner, chained two-and-two, conducted toward the slave-pen; and there I noticed my bootblack trudging along in my boots. I had made a successful canvass for Congress in those boots, but they failed the slave in his canvass for freedom. He was sold for the Southern market, as was customary with captured fugitives, and my boots went with him. But whether they were worn out by him upon some sugar, rice, or cotton plantation, or by his new master, it was useless for me to inquire. I was a Democrat in those days. An anti-slavery friend, who stood by me at the time, observed that the slave ought to have known that if he ever got into Democratic boots he would have to go South, whereas, if he had only stolen his boots instead of mine, they would have landed him safely in Canada.

JOHN WENTWORTH, *Congressional Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1882), 7.

SPECULATION IN DISCHARGE PAPERS

Don't Sell Your Discharges. — Sharpers have been around buying soldiers' discharge papers, we presume in the hope of future bounties to discharged soldiers. Again we would advise soldiers not to sell their discharges—hold on to them and if there are any future bounties given you will receive the benefit of them. These speculators must have some assurance that bounties will be given, or they would not be so anxious to buy.

Daily Illinois State Journal, Nov. 21, 1865.

SPRING FASHION NOTES, 1867

So scant and quaint are the entire outfits of ladies at present, that they have had repeatedly to suffer a comparison to sausages. The new styles certainly test the capacity of a woman to be, at once, both charming and queer. The prevailing slimness gives an effect of greater height, which is a fashionable requisite, and also of economy, delightful from its very novelty. The spring openings have not yet taken place in our city, but we glean from general observation and from various other sources, a foretaste of what may be expected on that important occasion.

Dresses and how they are made.—The materials for dresses at the present season are poplins, winceys, alpacas and velveteens,— a new fabric that has been fashionable abroad for some time, though it has but lately appeared here. It is soft and velvety looking, made entirely of cotton, and therefore containing a latent seediness. All dresses are gored, though there are several distinct styles. First, the full-gored dress, waist and skirt cut together, which requires a pattern and should be carefully fitted. Second, the skirt cut separate from the body; in this the skirt should be fully six inches larger at the top than the waist, this quantity to be held in, so that it may fit easily over the hips. In the third method the two back breadths are gathered into a belt, (not plaited,) the other breadths being gored. Very little fullness is required. For the house, dresses are made with long trains; street dresses are a separate institution and are short and narrow, either double or single skirted. Most bodies are short, cut round, and all are finished with a belt and rosette. The peplum is as popular as ever; it is pointed or rounded or cut in slashes. Sleeves are undergoing decided changes. Coat sleeves are worn, but flowing sleeves, open and much longer, hang over them. Trimmings are extensively used, amber beads, amber

fringes, gimp, buttons, lace, etc. Skirts are trimmed on the seams with a contrasting color; some simulate the peplum, others place a simple border round the bottom. In New York the distinctions of dress are so arbitrary that the short street costume is wholly inadequate to the ceremonies of calling, but in sensible Boston it is made to do double duty.

We have stated before that hoops are fast dwindling into invisibility. Two and a half yards in circumference suffices for full dress; simply room to take short steps is the rule for the street. But a single skirt must be worn over the crinoline and that must be gored. No springs at the tops are allowed, no gathers or plaits to interfere with the slender natural proportions.

Prairie Farmer, April 20, 1867.

PETER CARTWRIGHT — FIGHTING PREACHER

There is an old friend of mine, my first presiding elder, yet living in Illinois—Peter Cartwright—who was one of those old preachers in the West, and has many of their peculiarities. I may give you one incident of this man's life, as a specimen of their physical courage and prowess; for it was sometimes necessary for them to fight with carnal weapons, and many of them had obstinate combats with the rough pioneer people—and commonly came off victorious. Cartwright, in common with most of those early old preachers, was a strong opponent of slavery. Now the question was being canvassed in Illinois, between 1818 and 1823, whether this institution should be ingrafted upon the Constitution, when the State was applying for admission into the Union. The old gentleman resolved to remove to Illinois, and take a hand in the quarrel. He had been living in Kentucky and Tennessee, and had preached there for a quarter of a century, when he was appointed to Illinois as presiding elder, and had a circuit from Galena on the northwest, to Shawnee-town on the south—a district nearly as great as the entire country of England. Around this he was to travel once in three months, at a time when there were no roads, scarcely a bridge or ferry—and keep his regular appointments to preach, Sunday after Sunday, besides attending love-feasts, and administering the sacraments. Then, after preaching on the Sunday, he would generally announce a stump speech for the Monday, and call upon his fellow-citizens to come and hear the question discussed, whether slavery should be admitted or not. Of course, taking a political side, he was regarded as a politician, and there was a good deal of angry feeling

about the old preacher. On one occasion, he rode to a ferry upon the Sangamon River; the country about was rather thickly populated, and he found a crowd of people about the ferry, which seemed to be a sort of gathering place for discussing politics. The ferryman, a great herculean fellow, was holding forth at the top of his voice about an old renegade, one Peter Cartwright, prefixing a good many adjectives to his name and declaring that if he ever came that way he would drown him in the river.

Cartwright, who was unknown to any one there, now coming up, said: "I want you to put me across."

"You can wait till I am ready," said the ferryman.

Cartwright knew it was of no use to complain; and the ferryman, when he had got through his speech, signified his readiness to take him over. The preacher rode his horse into the boat, and the ferryman commenced to row across. All Cartwright wanted was fair play; he wished to make a public exhibition of this man, and, moreover, was glad of an opportunity to state his principles. About half way over, therefore, throwing his bridle over the stake on one side of the boat, he told the ferryman to lay down his pole.

"What's the matter?" asked the man.

"Well," said he, "you have just been using my name improper, and saying that if I ever came this way, you would drown me in the river. I'm going to give you a chance."

"Are you Peter Cartwright?"

"Yes."

And the ferryman, nothing loath, pulls in his pole, and at it they go. They grapple in a minute, and Cartwright being very agile as well as athletic, succeeds in catching him by the nape of the neck and the slack of the breeches, and whirls him over. He souses him down under the tide, while the companions of the vanquished ferryman look on, the distance insuring fair play. Cartwright souses him under again and raising him, says: "I baptize thee in the name of the Devil, whose child thou art." He thus immerses him thrice, and then drawing him up again, inquires: "Did you ever pray?"

"No," answered the ferryman, strangling and choking and dripping in a pitiful manner.

"Then it's time you did," says Cartwright; "I'll teach you: say 'Our Father who art in Heaven.' "

"I won't," says the ferryman.

Down he goes under water again, for quite a time. Then lifting him out, "Will you pray, now?"

The poor ferryman, nearly strangled to death, wanted to gain time, and to consider the terrors.

"Let me breathe and think," he said.

"No," answers the relentless preacher, "I won't; I'll make you," and he immerses him again. At length he draws him out, and asks a third time, "Will you pray now?"

"I will do anything," was the subservient answer. So Cartwright made him repeat the Lord's Prayer.

"Now let me up," demanded this unwilling convert.

"No," says Cartwright, "not yet. Make me three promises: that you will repeat that prayer every morning and night; that you will put every Methodist preacher across this ferry free of expense; and that you will go to hear every one that preaches within five miles, henceforth."

The ferryman, all helpless, barely alive and thoroughly cowed, promised; and Cartwright went on his way.

WM. H. MILBURN, *The Pioneers, Preachers and People of the Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1860), 374-78.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Governor Dwight H. Green recently appointed the following Trustees for the Illinois State Historical Library: Clarence P. McClelland, Jacksonville, Benjamin P. Thomas, Springfield, and Alfred W. Stern, Chicago. On January 4, Jay Monaghan, formerly Research Editor in the Library, was named State Historian in charge of the Illinois State Historical Library.



All members of the Illinois State Historical Society are invited to join a spring tour of the river region of southeastern Illinois on May 10 and 11. Programs will be mailed to members of the Society later, but tentative plans can now be announced. Harrisburg is the headquarters for the tour. Entertainment will be arranged in that city on the first afternoon and evening of the meeting. On the second day a tour of such scenic and historic places as old Shawneetown, the slave house at Equality, Dixon Springs State Park, Cave-in-Rock State Park, Elizabethtown, Golconda, Metropolis, and Nigger Spring will be made. For this excursion the Greater Egypt Association is providing free bus transportation. Two committees have been appointed to arrange for the two-day meeting. The Illinois State Historical Society committee includes: Will Griffith, Carbondale, David Felts, Decatur, and E. G. Lentz, Carbondale. Members of the Greater Egypt Association committee are: Frank Gray, Clarence Bonnell, Scerial Thompson, and Rees Turner, all of Harrisburg, Virginia McAndrews, Carbondale, and Josephine Center, Benton.



Alfred W. Stern, donor of the notable Civil War collection in the Illinois State Historical Library, is offering prizes for outstanding essays on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War. Winning essays will be published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. Mr. Stern is giving \$100 for the first prize and \$50 for the second. Authors of other articles deemed satisfactory for publication in the *Journal* will be paid \$25 by the Society. The essays should contain approximately 5,000 words. The subject may be any phase of the Civil War

era in Illinois, or any activity, military or civilian, of Illinoisans at that time. The articles will be judged by three leading historians. The judges will make their selections on the basis of originality of research, contribution to the knowledge of Civil War history, and readability.

Inquiries concerning the contest should be addressed to Jay Monaghan, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, Illinois. All entries must be submitted by December 31, 1946.



In observance of Abraham Lincoln's birthday, the Illinois State Historical Library exhibited some unusual original letters. Two of them were written by Abraham Lincoln to other attorneys asking them to protect the interest of his old friend, "Billy the Barber," a colored man who had trimmed the hair and rasped the beard of Honest Abe when he lived in Springfield. Another letter is from Willie Lincoln, aged ten, to Henry Reeman, who later became librarian of the Springfield public library. A telegram from Tad stating that he had found a pony which suited him was also put on display.

In addition, the Library exhibited several Lincoln books in exquisite bindings. Among these were Beveridge's *Abraham Lincoln* and Katherine Helm's *Mary, Wife of Lincoln*—the latter bound with a panel of garnet damask on the cover. This damask was taken from a drapery in the Todd home in Lexington, Kentucky. A Swedish life of Lincoln by Sven Wikberg was also among these books of perfection in the printer's art. Dr. Harry E. Pratt's *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln*, which was one of the "Fifty Books of the Year" selected by the American Institute of Graphic Arts in 1943 for excellence in design and manufacture, was included in the exhibit. A new edition of Herndon's *Lincoln and Ann Rutledge*, edited by Harry R. Burke and published by Hal Trovillion "At the Sign of the Silver Horse," was shown as another example of beautiful typographical work.



A Historical Tour of Illinois for teachers and future teachers, June 3-17, will be sponsored jointly by the Illinois State Historical Society, the Illinois Council for the Social Studies, Augustana College, Monmouth College, MacMurray College, and Illinois College. The tour will feature a series of lectures on Illinois history. The usefulness of state and local history as a classroom technique for explaining world trends and events in the story of human progress will be demonstrated by practical illustrations.

Two or three hours' credit will be given by the four colleges listed above, to all who complete the course satisfactorily. Registrants will have an opportunity to tour Illinois and parts of adjoining states while learning history on the ground where events took place. They can combine the business of getting college credit with the pleasure of a vacation at a very small cost. Various extra-curricular activities will also be arranged at different places along the way.

The course will be given on an actual cost basis, with the class traveling by truck, and eating and sleeping outdoors. Every member will be made responsible for performing certain duties and the cost will probably be less than \$35 per person for the two weeks. Those who cannot sleep outdoors may follow the group in their own cars and eat with them, but such persons must make their own room reservations. The tour is not restricted to teachers and students. Members of the Illinois State Historical Society are also invited to participate.

Mr. John H. Hauberg, Rock Island, will be the Director of the Historical Tour. Other members of the faculty will include: Mr. O. F. Ander, Augustana College; Miss Hazel Phillips, president of the Illinois Council for Social Studies; Mr. March Bodine, Western Illinois State Teachers College; Mr. Lynn Turner, Monmouth College; Mrs. Edward Sweeney, Washington, D.C.; and Mr. Jay Monaghan, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Registration for the course must be made prior to May 25, and payment of \$5.00 must accompany each reservation. Further information may be obtained by writing to any one of the following: Mr. O. F. Ander, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois; Mr. Lynn Turner, Monmouth College, Monmouth, Illinois; the registrars of MacMurray College or Illinois College.



A "Workshop on the Study of the Community" will be offered to teachers of the Social Sciences from June 8 to 28, at Illinois State Normal University. The Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois Council for the Social Studies are co-operating with Normal in sponsoring this project to stimulate interest in the study of local history.

The Workshop will hold morning and afternoon sessions every day. The course is planned for teachers of both elementary and secondary schools who want to learn the technique of studying community history and the methods of applying that technique.

The faculty will consist of regular members of the University staff who are specialists in the Social Studies. Experts in related fields will also

be available from time to time. Three semester hours of credit may be earned. The registration fee is \$9.00 for the course. Board and room may be obtained from \$10.00 per week upward. Further information about the Workshop may be obtained by writing to the Registrar, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois.



Every year sees a lengthening shelf of books on Abraham Lincoln, but only occasionally does a classic appear. Perhaps the significant Lincoln books may be counted on the fingers of both hands. J. G. Randall's two volumes on *Lincoln, the President: Springfield to Gettysburg*¹ might well be included among these. This work is much more than a biographical review of the presidency of Abraham Lincoln. A president is the product of his surroundings. His physical characteristics as well as political luck enter into his selection. Mr. Randall therefore investigates Lincoln's heredity and environment, carrying his study back to boyhood days. As the young Lincoln grows to manhood, the author gives increasing space to the future president's activities and to external influences. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Lincoln entered politics with a will. Every step from 1854 to 1861 is a step toward the White House. Mr. Randall considers each of these years a part of *Lincoln, the President*, but he has weighed his subject judiciously. Judging from the space allotted to this period, it is obvious that he considers these years just half as important as those which follow the inauguration.

Certainly no one can understand Abraham Lincoln without understanding this background. One of these early chapters is devoted to the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858. The author points out that these were not debates. Instead, they were political speeches. None of the problems confronting the nation—not even slavery—was discussed with a remedial solution in mind. Both Lincoln and Douglas seemed more intent on discrediting each other than they did on solving a national problem. Slavery, the author points out, was not so important as the debaters made it.

So, too, in the election year of 1860, Mr. Randall shows how song, bluster, and barbecues were used to get the votes. After the inauguration, Lincoln's real work commenced and his character began to emerge. Trouble was inevitable. His problem was not to avoid looming trouble but to "choose between alternatives of trouble." Mr. Randall outlines

¹ Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1945. Two vols., \$7.50.

them all in lucid language. His chapter "A Blueprint for Freedom" might well be memorized by the "smart alec" school of historians who, in the name of objectivity, malign Lincoln as an insincere emancipator intent only on crushing the beautiful Southern way of life with a high industrial tariff. Other chapters deal with Frémont, the exits of Cameron, McClellan, and Burnside. All are definitive analyses of available evidence, the most complete mustering of sources yet attempted in a Lincoln biography. The second volume ends with the Gettysburg Address. An appendix summarizes and evaluates the Ann Rutledge legend. The bibliography contains what is perhaps the most important selective list of Lincoln sources yet compiled. Two additional volumes tracing Lincoln's presidency from Gettysburg to his assassination are planned for publication in 1947.



A new addition to the series known as the *Indiana Historical Collections*—Volume XXVIII—has been written by Cedric Cummins. It is entitled *Indiana Public Opinion and the World War, 1914-1917*.² The second world war brought out several biographies of Woodrow Wilson, and this volume fits well into the field of research that is trying to explain our failure to win the peace of 1919. Indiana was selected as the guinea pig in this study of ideas because it was a typical Middle Western state and the Middle West has generally held the balance of power in the nation. In an extremely readable book the author shows the people in 1914 to have been as neutral as any mass may be in politics. Much sympathy was felt for German culture during the first months of the war. Gradually, with horror stories coming from Belgium, the idea arose in the popular mind that autocracy was to blame. Soon popular sympathy grew strong enough to fight autocracy in a war to "make the world safe for democracy."

Mr. Cummins has dived deeper into this subject than has heretofore been done. Readers who follow his investigations will say, too, that he has not come up drier. His analysis of the process of crystallization of public opinion, the eagerness with which the majority put on a cloak of one color and called it another, is not optimistic but it is enlightening.



A strange story of emigration appears in the westward movement of the Quakers. Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Kansas appealed to them as a place to settle but, strangely enough, few Friends stopped in Illinois.

² Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, 1945. \$2.50.

The veteran Congressman, Joseph G. Cannon, is an exception, but even he considered himself an Indiana Friend. Bernhard Knollenberg has written a history of one group of Indiana Quakers in *Pioneer Sketches of the Upper Whitewater Valley: Quaker Stronghold of the West*.³ The story begins with the earliest white settlement and ends with the coming of the railroads in 1853.



Readers who enjoyed Philip Kinsley's first volume on *The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years*⁴ will be glad to see that a second volume has been added to the series. The author has now brought the story down to 1880. He starts the book with the aftermath of Lincoln's assassination and the reported capture of Jeff Davis in his wife's clothes. The decades that follow are among the most prosperous in all United States history—the Chicago fire and the panic of 1873 notwithstanding. Mr. Kinsley relies exclusively on the files of the *Tribune* for his material, and in consequence the volume serves as a historical “refresher” of the political field in both Chicago and the nation with front-page thrillers, baseball news, and the Moody and Sankey revival thrown in. The author has included many interesting lines on the “new dealers” and “communists” of that distant day.



*Jackson County Notes*⁵ is a new kind of county history. The thirty-eight pages of “Notes” were written by John W. Allen, Curator of History, Museum of Natural and Social Sciences, Southern Illinois Normal University, and the accompanying pictorial map was drawn by Loraine Waters. The map is divided into squares and the text gives a brief history of the territory in each square. This booklet, printed by the State of Illinois, might well serve as a model for similar projects in other counties.



Along the Line in Illinois,⁶ a car-window description of town and countryside along the Nickel Plate Railroad, shows the attraction history can have for the average passenger. The booklet is confined mainly to accounts of the towns along the two branches of the road in Illi-

³ Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, 1945. \$.75.

⁴ The Chicago Tribune, Chicago, 1945. \$3.00.

⁵ Contribution No. 21, Museum of Natural and Social Sciences, Southern Illinois Normal University, Carbondale.

⁶ Published by the Industrial Development Department, Nickel Plate Road, Cleveland, 1945.

nois—from Humrick and Ridge Farm to St. Louis and from Cheneyville to Peoria. A number of maps illustrate the agricultural and industrial resources of the country through which the railroad passes.

The Nickel Plate traverses two great agricultural belts in Illinois, with Alton and East St. Louis, Peoria and Bloomington the only large towns in a vast field of corn and soybeans. Numerous historical sketches enliven the agricultural and industrial statistics necessary to describe the railway. The anonymous author tells anecdotes about many villages. One of these describes how the farmers in the early days fenced the right of way and the train crew had to get out and open the gates before the locomotive could go down the track. The author realizes, too, that most travelers will want to know about the little churchyard near the railroad stop at Charleston where Thomas and Sarah Bush Lincoln are buried beneath the simple inscription: "Their Humble But Worthy Home Gave to the World Abraham Lincoln."



Paul M. Angle is responsible for many recent innovations at the Chicago Historical Society. One of these is the publication of a pocket-size quarterly magazine, *Chicago History*. Its purpose is to keep members informed about the activities of the Society and to describe its resources and exhibits. Written in a breezy, informal style, all the articles in this little quarterly make interesting reading. Moreover, the distinguished scholarship of their author is good assurance of their authoritative quality.



*The Story of Camp Ellis*⁷ depicts the life of an inductee with photographs, drawings, and words. This beautiful volume of 128 pages was written by the historical research staff of the cantonment named for Sergeant Michael B. Ellis, the "Sergeant York of St. Louis." The book tells of the construction of the camp, the dedication by Governor Dwight H. Green, the officers in charge, and the life and training of the men since the camp was completed in 1943. Soldiers are shown at drill, in the hospital, having teeth pulled, administering first aid, stretching telephone wires, building bridges, and peeling potatoes. A brief history is also given of special units which trained at Camp Ellis in recent years, including Red Cross workers and Wacs. In fact, every phase of life in a big army camp seems to receive its share of attention in this well-written, well-illustrated volume.

⁷ Printed by *Macomb Daily Journal*, 1945.

The village of Tinley Park, located in Cook County, has published a booklet entitled *Centennial of Tinley Park: 100 Years of Progress*. This work, compiled by William Semmler and Mrs. Walter Eichelberg, contains interesting accounts of the old days and the new in Tinley Park. Brief histories of various clubs, churches, and industries in the town are included. Pictures effectively illustrate the text.



The First National Bank of Red Bud, Illinois, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1945 by publishing its own history.⁸ This little booklet is illustrated with exterior and interior views of the bank building and photographs of bank officers and other prominent citizens. In addition to the account of the bank, "Historical Highlights" of the town and of Randolph County are also included. Red Bud, as one might guess, was named from the redbud trees which partly covered the original townsite. The compilers have listed the names of more than two hundred and fifty men and women of the village who served in the Army, Navy, and Merchant Marine during the recent war. Short sketches of two prominent citizens of today—Judge A. D. Riess and State Treasurer Conrad F. Becker—are given on the last page of this brochure.



"A History of Morton Grove,"⁹ compiled by Art Loutsch, was issued in mimeograph form on the fiftieth anniversary of the village of Morton Grove in 1945. It consists of twenty-five short accounts—each of them one page in length—describing various episodes in the history of the town. Interesting little vignettes are used to illustrate many phases of village life and there is a chronology of the chief events in Morton Grove's history. A great deal of local history can be learned in a short time by reading this attractive little booklet.



Reprints of two articles from *The Indiana Magazine of History* have recently been issued. In *A New Letter about the Massacre at Fort Dearborn*, John D. Barnhart discusses and prints two letters—one of them hitherto unpublished—by Walter K. Jordan, an eyewitness of the Fort Dearborn Massacre. The new letter does not change the story materially.

⁸ *First National Bank of Red Bud, Illinois: Our 50th Anniversary*. Printed by Von Hoffman, Press, St. Louis, Mo., 1945.

⁹ Distributed by Art Loutsch, Morton Grove, Ill.

It adds one fact—that Captain Wells's head was cut off by the Indians and placed on a pole. Other details confuse rather than confirm the conflicting testimony of previous witnesses. However, when only a half-dozen contemporary accounts have been preserved, any additional evidence is both interesting and valuable.

The other recent reprint from *The Indiana Magazine of History* is *Herndon's Contribution to Lincoln Mythology* by Louis A. Warren. The article is a résumé of contemporary reviews of Herndon's work, which, by the way, are not complimentary. With these for his premise, Dr. Warren shows how the authors of several standard histories have used Herndon as their source and thus built "Lincoln mythology."



The vivid language in which William H. Townsend recounts his historical investigations attracts many readers to everything he writes. *Lincoln's "Rebel" Niece*,¹⁰ reprinted from the *Lincoln Herald* for February, 1945, is another addition to his long record of research in Kentucky Lincolniana. The rebel niece is Katherine Helm, who at the age of six visited in the White House shortly after her father, Confederate General Ben Hardin Helm, had been killed at Chickamauga. The article contains photographs of some other very sweet-faced "rebels."



The MacMurray College centennial celebration will be held in Jacksonville from October 6 to 10. A new chapel costing \$250,000 is to be erected on the college campus as a permanent memorial of the centennial. The alumnae hope to raise \$30,000 to provide an organ for the chapel. A Jacksonville citizens' committee has been named to assist with MacMurray centennial plans. The following persons comprise the executive board of this committee: Lawrence Oxley, chairman, Karl Baker, H. L. Caldwell, Robert Capps, J. Chester Colton, James N. Conover, Tom Cornish, W. A. Fay, John Hackett, Wilbur Kurtz, Waldo McCreery, W. O. Randall, Earl M. Spink, Harlan Williamson, and C. N. Wright.



The Newberry Library of Chicago has recently acquired a collection of letters of the late Joseph Kirkland (1830-1894), novelist of the

¹⁰ Department of Lincolniana, Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn., 1945. \$1.00.

Middle West. They were presented to the Library by his granddaughters, Mrs. Boyd Hill of Lake Forest and Mrs. Morrow Krum of Washington, D.C.



Clarence R. Smith, museum director for the Aurora Historical Society, wrote an article entitled "Lamps of the Early Days at the Museum" for the October, 1945, issue of the Society's *Bulletin*. The city of Aurora has a special reason for being interested in the history of lighting. It claims to be one of the first to light its streets with electricity on a large scale. The Aurora Historical Society has received a bequest from the late Miss Marion Strossman to help defray the expenses of erecting a new museum building.



Members of the Bishop Hill Old Settlers' Association are making plans for the Bishop Hill centennial celebration next September. The officers of this organization are: Clarence Nelson, president; Richard Stoneberg, vice-president; Mrs. Pearle Ericson, secretary; Mrs. Janette Forse, treasurer.



The Boone County Historical Society held its annual election of officers last December. Garret F. Sager was named president. Other officers for the coming year are: George Wheeler, vice-president; Mrs. Nelva Dean, secretary; Mrs. Maude Curtis, corresponding secretary; Fred Warren, treasurer; R. V. Carpenter, historian; Thomas S. Beckington, custodian. The trustees are: Fred A. Marean, P. H. O'Donnell, Willis Griffith, Mrs. John Oberholser, and Mrs. Arthur Tripp.



Two thousand, three hundred and thirty-five visitors signed the museum guest book of the Bureau County Historical Society in 1945. This is an increase of more than two hundred over the attendance in 1944. A new project of the Bureau County Camera Club eventually will give the Bureau County Historical Society a set of fifty or sixty picture slides depicting scenes and people of historical significance.

Several special exhibits have been featured recently at the Chicago Historical Society. In December, 1945, the romantic and colorful period of Chicago's theatrical history was recalled in an exhibit of playbills and posters. The Fifth International Salon of Photography was held early this year. This was followed by a display of the portraits of twenty-six leading American Negroes. Nineteen of these were painted by Mrs. Betsy Graves Reyneau, the other seven by Mrs. Laura Wheeler Waring.



The Englewood Historical Association (Chicago) held its ninth annual dinner meeting last December. President Willis E. Tower presided, and speeches were made by Dr. Victor D. Lespinasse, the Rev. William L. Rest, and Charles L. Winslow. Community singing was led by George Gordon. John Showel presented a display case to the Society on behalf of the Englewood Kiwanis Club. Mrs. Lester T. Harrison presented a certificate of award to each Englewood school which had submitted a written report on its study of the community's history.



Two members of the armed forces were the speakers at last fall's annual meeting of the South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) held in the auditorium of the South Shore Library. Lieutenants Donald Peak and Ray Wishart told of their experiences in the war. A tribute was paid to the late David B. Bird, Sr., who was the genealogist of the Society. The program was under the leadership of Mrs. Ada Robinson Kane.



Miss Lois Bergh was chosen as the new president of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) at the annual midwinter meeting of the group, held on January 14. Toles Wintersteen, commander of the West Garfield Service Corps, presented a gold album to the Society to be used for preserving records of local service men who lost their lives in the recent war.



At a meeting of the Historical Society of Woodlawn (Chicago) held on February 8, Roy Owens, long-time resident of Woodlawn, was the speaker.

Judge P. C. Walters read a paper on the early courts of Edwards County at the December, 1945, meeting of the Edwards County Historical Society. Mrs. Laura Blood Killough presented a biography of Mrs. Grace Blood Toler of Mounds at the January meeting. A drive for dues and donations for the Society, especially among the people of Albion and the surrounding community, has recently been made.



Vice-Admiral A. S. Carpender, commandant of the ninth naval district, opened a series of monthly program meetings sponsored by the Evanston Historical Society on November 14, 1945. In December a memorial meeting was held in honor of Dr. James Taft Hatfield, who died on October 3. Franklyn Bliss Snyder, president of Northwestern University, presided, and talks were made by some of Dr. Hatfield's contemporaries on the University faculty as well as by several old-time Evanstonians. Dr. Hatfield, a resident of Evanston for seventy years, had been scheduled to give an illustrated lecture on the early history of Evanston at this meeting.

Historic Grosse Pointe Lighthouse, at the foot of Central Street, Evanston, resumed operation at 5:30 P.M. on February 9 during ceremonies sponsored by the Evanston Historical Society. The lighthouse, which had been dark since 1942 because of the war, had previously been in continuous operation for about seventy years. The land on which it stands was deeded to the city of Evanston for park purposes some years ago. The Northeast Park Board and the Evanston Historical Society have now assumed joint responsibility for the preservation of the tower as a permanent landmark. At the relighting ceremonies, Mayor S. G. Ingraham pressed the switch lighting the beacon, and Vice-Admiral A. S. Carpender delivered the principal address. Dr. Dwight F. Clark, president of the Evanston Historical Society, represented that organization.



Members of the Glencoe Historical Society met at the home of Mrs. James K. Calhoun on November 29, 1945. Christopher K. Beebe, president of the Society, was in charge of the meeting.



The Kenilworth Historical Society is co-operating with the village officials of Kenilworth in planning the observance of the fiftieth anni-

versary of the municipality this year. The first commemorative event scheduled was a reception held at the Kenilworth Club on February 3. The reception committee consisted of village trustees and officers, pioneer residents, members of the citizens' centennial committee, and officers of the Kenilworth Historical Society. Anan Raymond, village president, and Herbert B. Taylor, president of the Kenilworth Historical Society, invited all residents of the community to attend the reception. An exhibit of Kenilworth memorabilia was on display.



At the quarterly meeting of the Macon County Historical Society held on December 13, 1945, Dr. J. H. Dickey was the speaker. His topic was "Education in the Early Days in Macon County." The guest speaker at the March, 1946, meeting was Jay Monaghan of Springfield. He discussed "Lincoln the Lawyer."



The Edwardsville branch[§] of the Madison County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held on November 26, 1945. Officers elected were: Miss Ella Tunnell, president; E. L. Alexander, vice-president; Julian Vallette, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Eugene Schmidt, historian; and Mrs. W. H. Morgan, parliamentarian. Claxton Burroughs, the Rev. A. F. Ludwig, and Miss Grace Cunningham are directors.



Dr. Carl E. Black, who served as president of the Morgan County Historical Society for many years, died on January 13. He had been a practicing physician in Jacksonville for over fifty-eight years, and had served as governor of the American College of Surgeons and as president of the Illinois Medical Association. He was the son of Dr. G. V. Black, widely known dentist and author.

In the annual essay contest sponsored by the Morgan County Historical Society, first prize of \$15 was awarded to Mrs. M. G. M. Jones of Pisgah for an article entitled "Old Wills and Probates of Morgan County." Mrs. Otto Dorr of Chandlerville won the second prize of \$10 for her "Children of the Pioneers." The following persons were awarded prizes of \$5.00 each: Mrs. Virginia Shenkle, of Tacoma, Washington, for an essay entitled, "Dr. Hiram K. Jones and His House;" Miss Charlotte Deem, of Jacksonville, for "The Underground

Railroad;" and C. C. Carter, of Bluffs, for "Mob Law in Scott County, Illinois."

At the January meeting of the Morgan County Historical Society, Dr. Mary Watters, professor of history at Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia, was the principal speaker. Her topic was "MacMurray College in the 1850's." Dr. Watters is writing the centennial history of MacMurray College.

The Society re-elected Dr. Ernest Hildner, Miss Margaret K. Moore, and Mrs. George L. Drennan as directors for another term of three years. Mayor Ernest L. Hoagland was elected a director to fill out the unexpired term of Dr. Black. At the close of the meeting the directors elected the following officers for the coming year: Frank J. Heintz, president; Dr. C. P. McClelland, vice-president; Miss Fidelia Abbott, secretary; Miss Elizabeth Brooks, treasurer; Miss Amelia DeMotte, custodian.



At the November, 1945, meeting of the Peoria Historical Society, Leon Richard Hutchinson read a paper on "Peoria, Illinois, 1673-1945." This article by Mr. Hutchinson won first prize in the adult essay contest conducted during Peoria's centennial celebration last summer. The Society's first meeting of the new year was held on January 21. Harry L. Spooner read a paper prepared by Dr. Arthur G. Smith on "Peoria in the Eighties," and E. C. Bressler, treasurer of the Society, talked on the Hale brothers, early Peorians. George E. Johnson reported on the the space to be assigned the Society in the proposed new county building.



The Southern Illinois Historical Society has been granted an incorporating charter by the State of Illinois as a non-profit organization "interested in promoting a widespread interest in the history of southern Illinois and encouraging and stimulating historical research within the region." The board of directors includes: Clarence Bonnell of Harrisburg, chairman, L. A. Sanders of Marion, Mary Roberson of Mound City, Judge T. J. Layman of Benton, Sam A. Ziegler of Carmi, Arthur F. Lee of DuQuoin, the Rev. H. J. Funke of Carbondale, J. Lester Buford of Mt. Vernon, and L. O. Trigg of Eldorado. A meeting of the officers and directors was held on February 10 in Harrisburg. The date of the spring meeting of the Society was set tentatively for April 12.

The publishing program of the Southern Illinois Historical Society has been undergoing constant expansion for some years. When the Society

was organized, it issued a mimeographed bulletin two or three pages in length. Three years ago, with the help of a gift from John W. Allen, publication of an eight-page printed *Journal* was started and this has been issued regularly. On January 15 of this year this pamphlet was enlarged to sixteen pages and will be continued in this form if warranted by the amount of dues received from members of the Society.

The articles in the last few issues of the *Journal* have covered a variety of subjects, among them: "Cobden As It Was," by Grace Partridge Smith; "Carbondale Amuses Itself, 1865-1900," by John Herbert Hays; "The Circuit Rider" by E. W. Reef; and "The Scotch-Irish Come to Egypt" by John I. Wright. The January 15, 1946, issue also contains various news items about the activities of the southern Illinois group. The editorial board consists of John I. Wright, chairman, E. M. Stotlar, and John W. Allen.



The Swedish Christmas festival, a traditional yuletide event sponsored by the Swedish Historical Society of Rockford, was held on December 14, 1945. The annual meeting of the Society was held on February 24. Several visitors from Sweden were welcomed on this occasion. Among them were Miss Anna Olsson, a Salvation Army major from Stockholm, and Miss Kerstin Munck, librarian from Gothenburg, Sweden.

At its Swedish museum in the Rowland Branch Library in Rockford, the Society recently displayed a unique collection of antiques brought from Sweden by Ben Bjorling of Galesburg.



At the December, 1945, meeting of the Winnebago County Historical Society, held in Rockford, the following persons were elected to office: John H. Page, president; Sumner Miller, first vice-president; A. A. Stocker, second vice-president; Miss Julia Lind, treasurer; and Mrs. Herman G. Nelson, assistant secretary. The post of secretary was not filled. Charles Herrick, past president, was named curator and Milton Mahlborg assistant curator. Miss Mary Henderson and Miss Gladys Collier were named historians.



Dr. E. G. Lentz has recently been appointed curator of the Clint Clay Tilton Library of Lincolniana at Southern Illinois Normal University. He was formerly dean of men at the same institution.

Frank Fuller Fowle, a life member of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at his home in Winnetka on January 21. He was the head of the Chicago firm of Frank F. Fowle & Co., consulting engineers.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

The following is a list of new members who joined the Illinois State Historical Society in 1945. We hope that this big increase in membership may be maintained in 1946. The Illinois State Historical Society does not have a membership comparable to the numbers enrolled in the societies of some other states. We shall be grateful if every member will send to the Secretary a list of people who might be interested in joining our Society. We want to be able to publish a substantial list of new members in each issue of the *Journal*. We shall also list the names of people who have helped us in this membership campaign.

LIFE MEMBERS

Ives, Mrs. Ernest L.....	Bloomington, Ill.	Sage, Harold K.....	Normal, Ill.
Leopold, Mrs. Harold E.....	Chicago, Ill.	Starbird, Miss Myrtle I.....	Evanston, Ill.
Miller, Mrs. C. Phillip.....	Chicago, Ill.	Vandercook, R. O.....	Evanston, Ill.
Paullin, Laura V.....	Evanston, Ill.	Williamson, Dr. M. R.....	Alton, Ill.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Allen, George B.....	Chicago, Ill.	Bonzi, Marion D.....	Springfield, Ill.
Allen, John W.....	Carbondale, Ill.	Booton, Joseph F.....	Chicago, Ill.
Anderson, A. J.....	Rockford, Ill.	Bozeman, Adda B.....	Rock Island, Ill.
Anderson, Dr. Herbert W.....	Moline, Ill.	Bromwell, M. Scott.....	Lake Forest, Ill.
Andrews, Mr. and Mrs. Dalton M.....	Brown, Lloyd H.....	Sterling, Ill.
.....	Oak Park, Ill.	Bunge, George C.....	Chicago, Ill.
Antle, Marshall B.....	Springfield, Ill.		
Arrington, J. Earl.....	Hollis, N.Y.	Campbell, Herbert John.....	Chicago, Ill.
Ash, Mrs. H. I.....	Alton, Ill.	Carlson, T. L.....	Macomb, Ill.
		Carr, Robert Adams.....	Chicago, Ill.
Baker, Max K.....	Chicago, Ill.	Case, W. R.....	Chicago, Ill.
Ball, Allen.....	Carmi, Ill.	Cassidy, Mrs. R. M.....	Elburn, Ill.
Ballard, Henry S.....	Columbus, Ohio	Charnney, Mrs. Theodore.....	Chicago, Ill.
Barker, Morton D.....	Springfield, Ill.	Chione, Dr. A. G.....	Danvers, Ill.
Barnes, Mrs. William.....	Decatur, Ill.	Christenson, John A.....	Chicago, Ill.
Barton, Robert.....	Foxboro, Mass.	Clements, Charles.....	Springfield, Ill.
Bechtold, Dr. Edmond.....	Belleville, Ill.	Collins, Charles W.....	Evanston, Ill.
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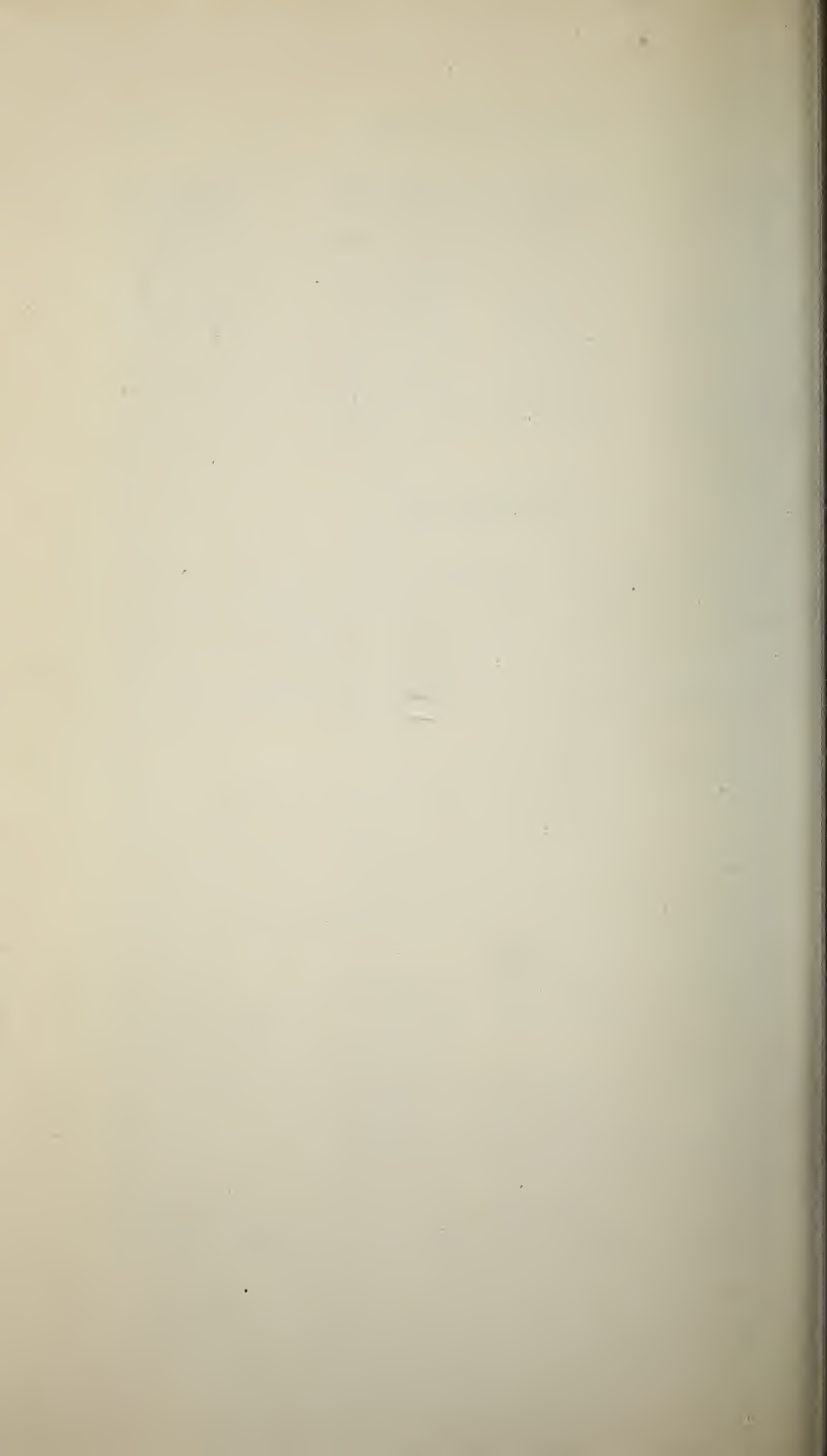


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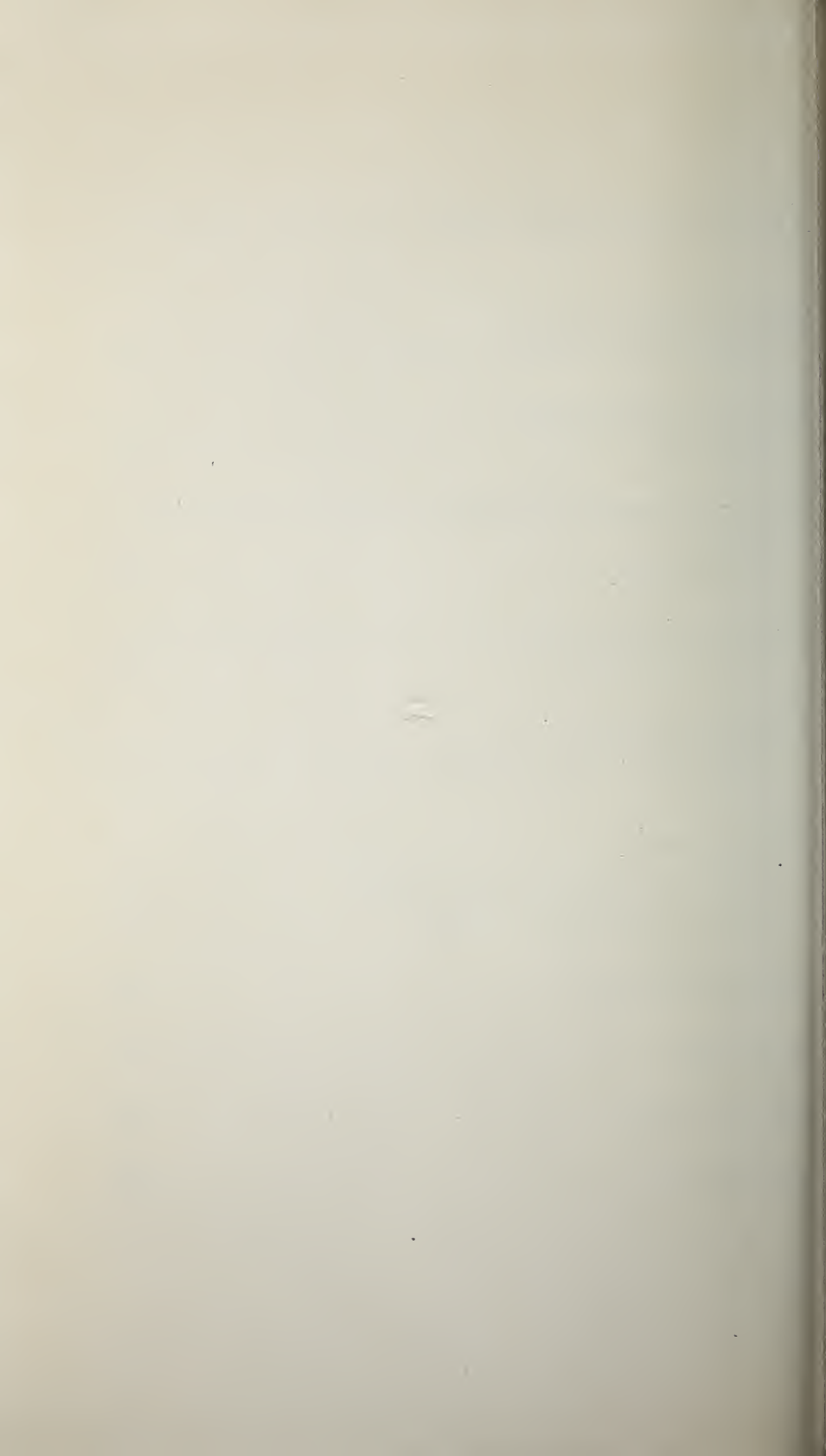
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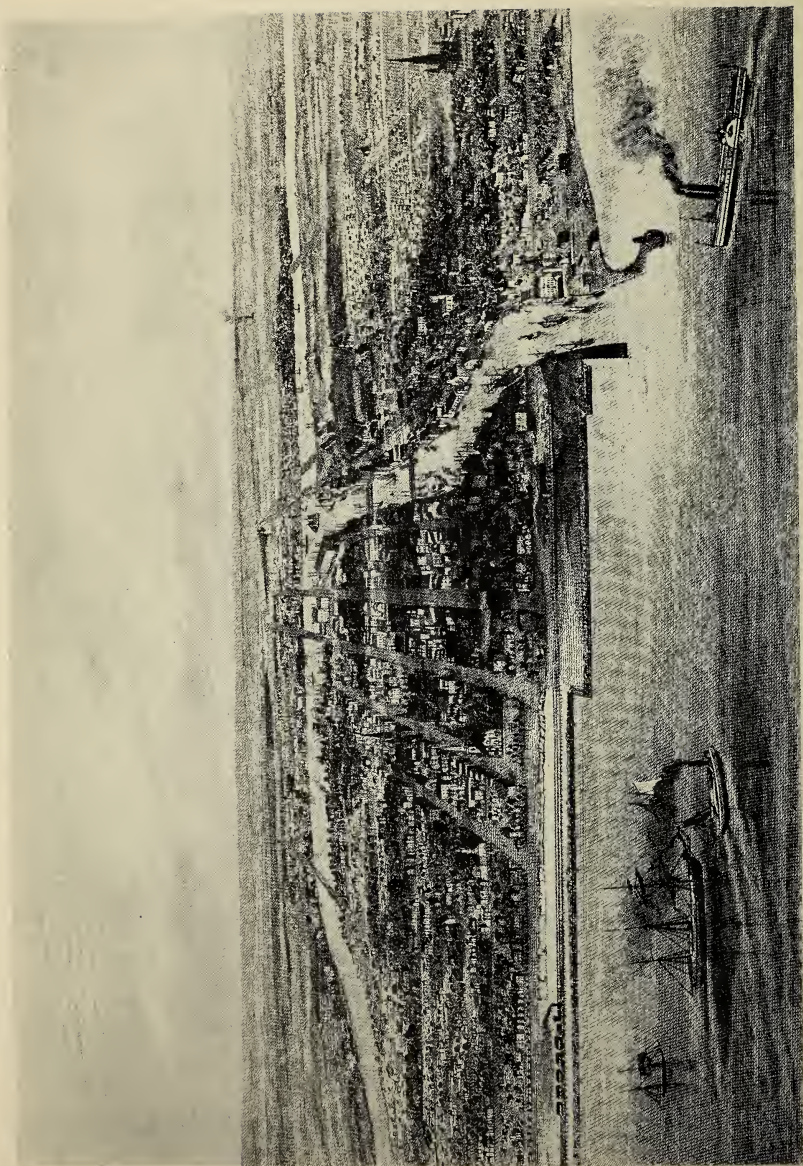
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CHICAGO IN 1853.

The early theaters were located close to the two bridges in the center of the picture.

THE EARLY THEATRE IN CHICAGO

BY HAROLD E. BRIGGS AND ERNESTINE B. BRIGGS

THE city of Chicago, though founded comparatively late, experienced a period of phenomenally rapid growth in its early years. The year 1837 marked both the approval by the state legislature of the charter making the town of Chicago a city and the beginning of a theatre there.¹

Before the establishment of a theatre Chicago had other amusements. The Chicago Lyceum had begun its meetings in 1834, and the first entertainment by a professional performer was given that year. On February 12, 1834, the public press announced the arrival of a Mr. Bowers, "*Professeur de tours Amusants*," who would give an entertainment the following Monday at the house of one D. Graves.² Bowers was to impersonate "the celebrated *Fire King*," and also to introduce "many very amusing feats of *Ventriloquism* and *Legerdemain*." The admission was fifty cents, with half price for children, and the performance was advertised to begin at "early candle light." Tickets were to be "had at the bar." The second recorded performance was given on June 11, 1834, by a ventriloquist named Kenworthy.³ Two years later the

¹ A. T. Andreas, *History of Chicago from the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Chicago, 1884), I: 174-76. When Joseph Jefferson arrived in Chicago as a lad in 1839 he was impressed with the evidences of progress. The little frontier town, so recently an Indian village, was constructing frame buildings, board sidewalks, hotels, churches, and houses at a rapid rate. Jefferson felt that he was watching a town built before his eyes to a running accompaniment of hammering and sawing. Joseph Jefferson, *The Autobiography of Joseph Jefferson* (New York, 1897), 21-22.

² James H. McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago* (Chicago, 1884), 11; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 522.

³ *Chicago Democrat*, Feb. 18, June 11, 1834; Gordon Van Kirk, "The Beginnings of the Theatre in Chicago, 1837-1839" (Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1934), 4.

first circus⁴ visited Chicago, when the Boston Grand Equestrian Arena gave several entertainments on Madison Street near the lake, and returned later for a second visit.⁵

The Common Council of Chicago reserved the right to license all forms of amusement, and in order to keep objectionable entertainments away resorted to prohibitive taxes. In May, 1837, Dean and McKinney asked for a license to open a theatre in Chicago for a month or more.⁶ They wanted a weekly license, but the Council levied an annual fee of \$100 for permission to perform plays in the city. This discouraged the managers and the company evidently failed to appear. Late in the summer of 1837 Henry (or Harry) Isherwood arrived in Chicago.⁷ In a letter which he wrote many years later he told of the discouraging sight the little town had presented, situated, as one of his actors said, "between Lake Michigan roaring on one side, and the prairie wolves on the other." Isherwood, after a good look around, decided to leave, but his landlord gave him such a "flowing account" of the possibilities of the place that he continued his plans for opening a theatre. A building which had once been a tavern, the deserted Sauganash Hotel, standing at some distance from the town, was converted into a playhouse.⁸ Rough seats were provided for about two hundred spectators, with a few chairs in front for the ladies.⁹ Modest bills were printed and distributed, and the venture proved successful.

⁴ This was no doubt an equestrian dramatic company, as the circuses we know did not develop until relatively late.

⁵ Van Kirk, "The Beginnings of the Theatre," 4.

⁶ Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1937), I: 308.

⁷ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 15, states that Isherwood and Alexander McKenzie (sometimes spelled MacKenzie and McKinzie) were partners in this enterprise. If they were, Isherwood was evidently taking charge of the project. McKenzie was a bookseller when he married Hetty, the daughter of Joseph Jefferson. In 1831 Jefferson persuaded McKenzie to take a lease with him on some theatres, and Mrs. McKenzie, though untrained for the stage, became an actress, playing mostly in the theatres of the Mississippi Valley. Harry Isherwood was a scene painter. T. Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage, 1733 to 1870* (New York, 1870), 228.

⁸ The Sauganash burned in 1851. It was apparently not used as a theatre after 1837. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 633.

⁹ This, in spite of the fact that the managers had asked for a six months' license, but were refused. The Council granted a license for one year, at \$125. Pierce, *History of Chicago*, I: 308.

The theatre opened late in October, and it is probable that the first play witnessed by the citizens of Chicago was *The Stranger*.¹⁰ Other plays given that first season were *The Carpenter of Rouen* and *The Idiot Witness*. In the company were Alexander McKenzie and his wife, H. Leicester, leading man, T. Sankey, J. S. Wright, Harry Isherwood, Mrs. David Ingersoll, leading lady, Madame Analine, danseuse and actress, Master Burke, juvenile and fancy dancer, William Warren,¹¹ and a Mr. Collins, both comedians. The season lasted about six weeks, with the usual lengthy programs consisting of a drama and a farce or comedy, with songs and dances.

So successful was this early theatre that by the following spring (1838) the construction of a permanent theatre was under way. This new theatre was situated in the upper floor of a wooden building on the west side of Dearborn Street, with the lower floor used as an auction room. It was called the Rialto, or Chicago,¹² and was in the center of business activity in the town, surrounded by hotels and auction rooms. In appearance the theatre was plain and even ugly,¹³ poorly lighted, and with a seating capacity of about four hundred. It had almost been refused a license because of its location, for a group of citizens presented a petition claiming that the theatre was a fire hazard, reminding the Council that "theatres are subject to take fire"—a statement that was certainly founded on fact, for playhouse after playhouse burned during the nineteenth century. Apparently some of the objectors had property in the vicinity of the new theatre,

¹⁰ Van Kirk, "The Beginnings of the Theatre," 6.

¹¹ William Warren was perhaps the outstanding member of this company, for many who would not frequent theatres would go to see Warren, a gentleman respected both on the stage and in private life. Henry Pitt Phelps, *Players of a Century. A Record of the Albany Stage* (Albany, 1880), 236. However, this was a good troupe for a frontier town.

¹² This theatre has been variously referred to as the Rialto, Chicago, National, and People's Theatre. The room that had been constructed into a playhouse was about thirty by eighty feet, and had planed seats on the main floor, a tier of boxes, and a gallery at the back. McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 18; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 476; Arthur Hornblow, *A History of the Theatre in America* (Philadelphia, 1919), I: 351-52.

¹³ The theatre was described as "a den of a place, looking more like a dismantled grist-mill than a temple of anybody. The gloomy entrance could have furnished the scenery for a nightmare." Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 476.

for the additional statement was advanced that insurance could not be obtained on real estate in the neighborhood of such buildings except at greatly increased premiums. The old argument that theatres were a moral hazard was also used. However, in May, 1838, the theatre opened and plays were presented until late in October.¹⁴

Alexander McKenzie now invited his nephew, Joseph Jefferson II, son of a famous comedian who had played so long in the old Chestnut Theatre in Philadelphia, to join him in the management of the Chicago Theatre. Jefferson, who had been scenic artist in two New York theatres from 1835 to 1837, decided that his fortune might experience a change for the better in the West. McKenzie was very optimistic concerning the theatrical possibilities there, as the frontier town was then in the midst of the boom which brought many people to northern Illinois in the years after the Black Hawk War.

On their arrival in Chicago, the Jeffersons, father, mother, and son, joined the company at the theatre. Young Joseph, who was to have a stage career of some seventy years, was then just nine years old but already a seasoned troupier,¹⁵ and both his parents were experienced players. The new theatre failed to impress these eastern actors; in fact, the elder Jefferson was inclined to be somewhat critical.¹⁶ Financially, however, the season was successful. The audience that crowded into the little house was an interesting assort-

¹⁴ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 17-26; Pierce, *History of Chicago*, I: 309.

¹⁵ At the Chicago Theatre "Master Jefferson was a favorite with his comic songs between play and farce." McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 40. When only four years old, young Joseph Jefferson III had been introduced upon the stage by Thomas D. Rice ("Jim Crow" Rice) on a benefit occasion at the Washington Theatre. Little Joe, blackened and arrayed precisely as was Rice, assumed the exact attitude of "Jim Crow" Rice and sang and danced in imitation of him. Laurence Hutton, *Curiosities of the American Stage* (New York, 1890), 112-15.

¹⁶ This, in spite of the fact that between the seasons of 1838 and 1839 the theatre had been improved with new scenery, "stuffed seats in the dress circle . . . and a new drop curtain." The interior had been newly decorated. Jefferson, *Autobiography*, 22. One other change was made later. In October, 1846, a separate section was provided for colored persons in the gallery. Milton John Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago 1837-1857" (M.A. thesis, Northwestern University, 1936), 6.

ment. Half-breeds, sailors, an occasional "wharf rat," and the elegantly attired dress circle alike enjoyed the highly dramatic plays of the era.

After a few programs the company, calling itself the Illinois Theatrical Company, turned south for a barnstorming tour through Illinois. This project was not successful. Jefferson preceded the players to Chicago, and spent the summer preparing new scenery and renovating the Chicago Theatre. The season here opened the last of August, 1839, with *The Wag of Windsor* and *The Illustrious Stranger*. Early in September an appeal was made to the ladies of Chicago to patronize the theatre:¹⁷

Why do not the fair ladies of our city lend the Theatre, occasionally, the light of their countenance? The play of *Isabella or Woman's Life*, this evening, will give them a fair and appropriate opportunity. There is a police in attendance whose *duty* it is to preserve strict order and decorum in the theatre. If the ladies are waiting for *fashionable* precedents, we will inform them that at *Springfield*, in this State, the theatre was attended generally by the beauty and fashion of the fair sex. . . . This has been the case we believe, also in the other places of the state, at St. Louis, and at the East. The Theatre in Springfield presented not a tythe of the inducements for attendance, of the Chicago Theatre. There the seats were of rough boards, without backs to them, and there were no divisions into boxes, etc. . . . we believe the exhibitions to exert no injurious influence, but on the contrary they afford an innocent, amusing and instructive recreation.¹⁸

The company of which McKenzie and Jefferson were managers was one of unusual strength. The Jeffersons were general favorites, particularly Mrs. Jefferson, who was considered a better thespian than her husband, and Alexander McKenzie was also held in high regard. Long afterward, an attendant at the early Chicago Theatre said that the two managers "were not theatrical adventurers," and he added

¹⁷ *Daily Chicago American*, Sept. 5, 1839.

¹⁸ Later the *American* called attention to the fact that ladies were attending the Chicago Theatre, as the prejudice against their doing so was fast wearing away. McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 44. A decade later the newspapers pointed out that the ladies supported the theatre in Chicago but did not attend in Springfield. James Napier Wilt, "The History of the Two Rice Theatres in Chicago" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1923), 35.

that they combined executive abilities of high order with "a devotion to their profession and an experience of rare value." The press spoke favorably of the theatre, praising the company, urging the elite of the city to attend, calling attention to the excellent character of the entertainment offered, and enthusiastically supporting the "stars."¹⁹

The season of 1839 was a brilliant one. The company presented a long list of plays,²⁰ and the press took favorable notice of its hard work in offering entertainment and variety:

The Company certainly deserve great praise for the manner in which they perfect themselves in the various parts in the short time that occurs between the plays. Although a new play has been brought forward each evening for the last three nights, still, with a few exceptions, all are quite perfect in their parts.²¹

On October 22 the ambitious program of *William Tell*, the ballet and pantomime of *Little Red Riding Hood*, and the "nautical melodrama" of *The Floating Beacon* showed how hard the company was working to please its enthusiastic audiences. For some time the members had been taking benefits and there were also benefits for the guest stars, a Mr. Dempster, who had sung ballads such as "She Wore a Wreath of Roses," "The Angel's Whisper," "Some Love to Roam o'er the Dark Sea Foam," and "It Is Not on the Battle Field," as well as Scotch ballads from his home country, and others of his own composing. The press was most enthusiastic over Dempster, whose taste was proclaimed admirable, and whose "manner and matter are calculated to have an elevating moral influence upon the heart. He is superior in what we consider the chief beauty of singing—musical *elocution*." A

¹⁹ *Daily Chicago American*, Sept. and Oct., 1839.

²⁰ Among the programs offered this season were: *The Warlock of the Glen* and *The Midnight Hour*, *The Magpie and the Maid* and *The Irish Tutor*, *Sweethearts and Wives* and *My Neighbor's Wife*, *The Golden Farmer* and *The Sleeping Draught*, *The Idiot Witness* and *The Turn Out*, *The Wandering Boys* and *The Unfinished Gentleman*, *The Invincibles* and *'Tis All a Farce*, *Oliver Twist* and *Uncle Sam*, *Jane Shore* and *The Village Lawyer*, *The Lady of Lyons* and *The Swiss Cottage*, and many others. *Cherry and Fair Star* was offered a number of times. Among the plays of Shakespeare were: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and the popular version of *Katherine and Petruchio* from *The Taming of the Shrew*.

²¹ *Chicago American*, Oct. 5, 1839; Van Kirk, "The Beginnings of the Theatre," 40. A common criticism of most early theatres was of imperfectly learned lines.

Mrs. McClure and Mr. C. Mason came for a short stay, took benefits, and assisted Alexander McKenzie with his. The season ended on November 2 with a benefit for Jefferson, and the Illinois Theatrical Company went on tour again. The managers never returned to Chicago.²²

After 1839, until John B. Rice built his first Chicago playhouse in 1847, there was no important theatrical season in the city.²³ Circuses came occasionally. In 1842 a Mrs. Mary C. Porter attempted to give performances without a license and came into conflict with the authorities.²⁴ She then petitioned for a license, and on April 9 a benefit performance of *The Manager in Distress*—probably an apt title—was offered. H. B. Nelson, Yankee storyteller and comedian, and his company played for a few days.²⁵

Early in August, 1842, a license was granted Lyne²⁶ and Powell to play at the Rialto. In their petition the managers mentioned the hard times and likelihood of small audiences as reasons for a reduction of the customary license fee.²⁷ Attendance at the theatre did prove small, apparently not so much because of any fault in the company,²⁸ as of religious prejudices in the city, and reluctance to attend a public performance where good order was not maintained.²⁹ A spectator took the police to task for not fulfilling their duties:

²² McKenzie died a few years later in Nashville. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 481. Jefferson died from yellow fever in Mobile in 1842. Mrs. Jefferson opened a boarding house for actors, but since these people seldom had any money, the plan failed. Young Joe and his sisters secured roles in the St. Emanuel Company in Mobile, but salaries were small. The Jeffersons followed the theatre through the backwoods of Mississippi and in the Texas towns. In 1846, they went with a small troupe to Matamoros to entertain the American soldiers. Eventually they returned East. Jefferson, *Autobiography*, *passim*; Oral Sumner Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr., *The American Stage (The Pageant of America)*, XIV, New Haven, 1929), 169.

²³ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 45-57.

²⁴ *Chicago Daily American*, March 31, 1842; see also early issues for April, 1842, of same paper. Mrs. Porter was the daughter of Mrs. Mary Ann Dyke Duff, a relatively prominent actress.

²⁵ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 48; *Chicago Daily American*, May 6, 1842.

²⁶ McVicker spells this name Lynn, but it is no doubt Thomas Lyne, who became well known in the western theatres.

²⁷ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 48.

²⁸ Included in the company were Messrs. Sharp, Armstrong, Jones, Bernard, and Mrs. Ramsay. Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 15.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 15-16.

We are aware that a considerable portion of our community, will not countenance a theatre, no matter how talented its members. We are perhaps old fashioned in our notions, and dislike extremes in most things. We like good order, either in the Church or Theatre, and as to that community without it, very little can be said in its favor, as it regards its social condition. A few minutes previous to the finale of the Drunkard's Doom, some seven or eight men rudely forced themselves into the Theatre, without the necessary passport, at once defying the officers who had charge of the Theatre. If the city authorities grant a license for theatrical entertainments, they should at least protect those engaged in them. Let the police be more energetic in the discharge of their duties, without regard to consequences, or we shall gain a reputation for rowdiness.³⁰

On August 30, Danford Marble came to Chicago. Accompanied by Mrs. Joshua S. Silsbee, and supported by Lyne and Powell's troupe, he offered *Black-Eyed Susan* and *The Forest Rose*.³¹ Even the presence of "stars" failed to draw crowds. In the fall of 1842 a theatre was opened in what was known as the Chapman Building, under the management of a Mr. Hastings, a member of Lyne and Powell's company, but it was short-lived. John S. Potter, whom McVicker characterized as "a man who is said to have started more theatres and failed oftener than any other man who lived in his day," applied for a license in August, 1843, to open a theatre, but apparently nothing came of the plan, probably because he was assessed \$25 a month in advance.³²

In 1844 the *Learned Pig* was an attraction. In this year, also, a museum was established.³³ Apparently so many itinerants had asked for cheaper licenses, or else wanted to appear free of any license fee, that in the fall of 1844 the Council thought it necessary to pass an ordinance making the fee \$5.00 for one performance, with a maximum charge of \$50,

³⁰ Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 16; *Chicago Daily American*, Aug. 30, 1842.

³¹ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 49.

³² McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 52-53; Pierce, *History of Chicago*, I: 311; *Chicago Democrat*, Aug. 23, 1843.

³³ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 53-56, notes that since "the advent of Barnum" the museum had been looked upon as one way to get people to witness theatrical performances. Many who would not enter a theatre would go to a so-called museum to see plays. Giving a theatre a name to which there was no prejudice attached was a device employed in various periods. For example, later, most theatres were called opera houses.

and giving the mayor the right to grant licenses at his discretion. The museum had difficulty in paying the license fee, and fought with the city fathers for some time over its right to offer theatrical performances. Even after dramatic offerings were permitted, the museum failed.³⁴

In 1846 Reuben Marshael brought a company to the Rialto, which he renamed the National Theatre, and, later, the People's Theatre. In this company were Messrs. Wilson, Chapin, Palmer, R. Marshael, G. Marshael, Williams, Brink, Marr, Harris, Woods, and Mrs. Henry Lewis and Madame La Burriss.³⁵ Marshael's company played here until January 7, 1847.

The first successful theatre in Chicago was established by John B. Rice.³⁶ This playhouse opened in June, 1847. Located on the south side of Randolph Street, east of Dearborn, it was known as the Rice, the Chicago, or just the Theatre. The building, planned by Messrs. Updike and Peck, was about forty feet wide and eighty feet deep, and built in such a way that a full view of the stage could be had from any seat.³⁷ The boxes were fitted with carpets and settees. The theatre had a dress circle, a parquette, and two tiers of boxes. Evidently space was left above the second tier for either a third tier or a gallery, as the theatre was "enlarged" later. The auditorium was ventilated by windows and heated by stoves. During the interim between the seasons of 1847 and 1848 some improvements were made. It was at this

³⁴ McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 54-57. By 1840 Chicago was feeling the effects of the Panic of 1837, and this no doubt contributed to the small audiences. Pierce, *History of Chicago*, I: 311.

³⁵ Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 17-19.

³⁶ John B. Rice was born in Maryland in 1809 of a farming family with no theatrical connections. By 1835 he had acquired a position with Wood and Warren in Philadelphia, playing secondary roles. He later married Mary Ann Warren, a sister of William Warren. He played in New York, and in 1843 assumed the management of the Albany Museum. In the spring of 1847 he came to Chicago. On Nov. 19, 1847, the *Milwaukee Sentinel and Gazette* notified the public of the proposed establishment of a theatre there by Rice, using a quotation from the *Chicago Journal*: "Mr. Rice has a character for uprightness and integrity which precedes him wherever he goes." Rice was an excellent businessman, and was later mayor of Chicago, in which capacity he served from 1865 to 1869. He also served in Congress from 1873 until his death on Dec. 17, 1874. Phelps, *Players of a Century*, 236; Wilt, "History of the Two Rice Theatres," 26; McVicker, *The Theatre; Its Early Days in Chicago*, 58-59, 73.

³⁷ Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 7-8.

time that the building was enlarged, the ventilation system improved,³⁸ and the interior decorated in white and gold. A general renovation was carried out and the interior redecorated before the opening of the season of 1849.

Admission prices to this first Rice Theatre were reasonably low: dress circle, fifty cents; parquette, twenty-five cents; second tier (for Negroes), twenty cents. The theatre had a short life, for on July 30 it was destroyed by fire. According to an account in the *Chicago Daily Journal* for July 31, the building had been constructed of highly combustible materials, and only the curtain, a few side scenes, and the private wardrobes of the company were saved. Apparently a small building adjoining the theatre had been used for a dressing room, which may have accounted for the fact that the wardrobes of the actors were not destroyed. In this fire Rice himself lost about \$7,000. There was not enough insurance to rebuild, but nevertheless he at once set about the erection of a second theatre.³⁹

The Chicago which saw the opening of the two Rice theatres was still in the days of its unruly youth. In 1847 the population slightly exceeded 16,000. The first boat was locked through the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848. The first stretch of railroad completed near Chicago, ten miles on the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad, was opened that same year. In spite of, or perhaps because of, its rapid growth, Chicago continued to be a crude, rough town for many years. Theatregoers who braved the muddy streets to attend plays saw mired and deserted wagons along the way, and at certain seasons of the year it was almost impossible to drive through the business section. In 1849 plank roads were adopted by the City Council, but these constituted real hazards, for broken boards sometimes flew up, hitting horses or pedestrians, or splashing them with mud.

³⁸ Two of the greatest problems any manager in the Western theatres encountered were those of ventilation and heating.

³⁹ Wilt, "History of the Two Rice Theatres," 129-31.

Twice during the decade from 1840 to 1850 cholera ravaged the city, and the audiences of the theatres hesitated to venture forth.⁴⁰ The drama had real obstacles to overcome in this town on the lakes.

When Rice opened his first theatre in this community which objected strongly to the stage on moral grounds, he had found in the *Chicago Daily Journal* a vigorous champion. That newspaper took every possible opportunity to persuade critical citizens to change their attitude toward the theatre. Rice co-operated by prohibiting immoral performances, refusing admittance to any woman without a male escort,⁴¹ and promising perfect order. The audience, however, especially that part which occupied the pit, was not always easy to control, and on October 11, 1848, the press called Rice's attention to the fact that it was impossible to hear the plays when bedlam raged in the auditorium.⁴²

Rice experienced some very strong opposition to theatres from the church. As late as 1856 the *Congregational Herald*, a church paper published in Chicago, warned parents to instruct their sons who might be going to the city not to attend the theatre.⁴³ To do so even once was to court loss of salvation. There was some reason for this opposition of the church to the stage, for the players of the first half of the nineteenth century were often poor models for youth. Some of them, it is true, like the famous managers of the Mississippi Valley theatres, N. M. Ludlow and Solomon F. Smith, made every effort to establish good reputations for themselves and the theatrical profession in general, and William Warren and many other actors were "gentlemen," but some

⁴⁰ Catherine Sturtevant, "A Study of the Dramatic Productions of Two Decades in Chicago: 1847-1857 and 1897-1907" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1931), 1-28; Wilt, "History of the Two Rice Theatres," *passim*. Every summer cholera reduced attendance at theatres in various sections of the United States. In 1849 it was so bad that the President proclaimed August 3 throughout the country as a day of fasting and prayer. The Chicago Theatre was closed on that day. Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 40.

⁴¹ This was, of course, an attempt to prohibit prostitutes from attending. In the early decades of the nineteenth century they were not only allowed to attend, but separate entrances were provided for them, and a certain section of the theatre reserved for them.

⁴² Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 26-27, 35.

⁴³ Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 495-96.

of the great stars were eccentric, arrogant, disdainful of their public, given to excessive drinking and to intemperance in their daily lives. The widely-publicized divorce case of Edwin Forrest and the incessant drinking of Junius Brutus Booth, the elder, added to the difficulty of the stage in winning approval, burdened, as it already was, with an old prejudice. Also, owing to small audiences and often excessive license fees, many managers were forced to leave unpaid bills behind them, and news of these circulated from town to town.

The second Rice Theatre opened in February, 1851. This was a brick building with an eighty-foot frontage on Dearborn, between Randolph and Washington streets, and seated about 1400 people. The wooden interior was elaborately decorated. There was a gallery, a stage forty feet deep, and gas lights. Peter Wagoner had furnished two "Theatre Saloons," one "above" and the other "below" for the convenience of the audience. The theatre had a roof of galvanized iron, protected by a set of lightning rods. It received frequent alterations, repairs, and redecoration during its career. In January and February of 1853 more than \$5,000 was spent converting the pit into a parquette, providing comfortable cushioned seats with sloping backs, rearranging the seats in the boxes to give a better view of the stage, and redecorating the interior.⁴⁴

Rice's companies were small, as were those of most western theatres, but he expected each member to be competent to act many parts. He had been an actor and prided himself on his ability to step into a breach and assume any role. He would act two or three important characters in a play,⁴⁵ and would then throw a cloak over his costume and

⁴⁴ Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 8-10.

⁴⁵ It was not unusual for an actor to take more than one role in a play. Many actors during this era prided themselves on their ability to act a number of parts. This probably grew out of the fact that most companies were small, and if the plays the audience wished to see were offered, it was necessary for most actors to take more than one role. James H. McVicker, *The Press, the Pulpit, and the Stage* (Chicago, 1883), 58-59.

join in a mob scene with a spirit "that would appall the villain of the play,"⁴⁶ according to James H. McVicker, his onetime stage manager. Once when *Othello* was billed, the actor who was to play the chief role did not appear at the theatre. Rice prided himself on not disappointing an audience by substituting one play for another, a practice all too common. He assumed the role of Othello, reading the lines he remembered, and "like a well-trained actor" omitting those he did not know "in a pleasing manner!" At the end of the third scene the absent actor appeared and Rice turned the role over to him, so the audience had two Othellos that night. Years later, a spectator remarked that he had never been satisfied with a production of that play since seeing Rice and McFarland in the part. "That was a realistic Othello—a fine, noble-looking one in the first part of the play, and a thin, cadaverous one at the end."⁴⁷

In addition to Rice's, there were several halls and museums in these years which frequently housed concerts, minstrel shows, and similar entertainments.⁴⁸ In 1854 Tremont's Hall sheltered an *Uncle Tom's Cabin* troupe for several weeks. In November of that year a German theatre⁴⁹ which had opened earlier allowed "Yankee" Robinson and his company to use its stage for a few performances. In 1855 North's National Amphitheatre became headquarters for a series of equestrian shows. This was a two-story wooden building seating about 3,000 people. It contained a performing ring and stabling quarters for the necessary horses. It was later en-

⁴⁶ McVicker had migrated from his home in New York to St. Louis in 1837, when he was fifteen, and had become a printer on the *St. Louis Republican*. He had been a regular attendant at Ludlow and Smith's theatre in St. Louis, and soon became "stage-struck." From 1843 to 1846 he was a call boy at the St. Charles in New Orleans under Ludlow, and later at the American. In 1850 he bought the rights to Dan Marble's Yankee plays from the latter's widow, and went on long tours, portraying Yankee roles. He became a "star," returning to St. Louis in 1856, and going from there to Chicago. At one time he was a stage manager at the Rice Theatre. Noah M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life as I Found It* (St. Louis, 1880), 732-33.

⁴⁷ McVicker, *The Press, the Pulpit, and the Stage*, 59-62.

⁴⁸ Wilt, "History of the Two Rice Theatres," 10, 280, 360; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I: 483-95; Sturtevant, "Dramatic Productions of Two Decades in Chicago," 11-12.

⁴⁹ The German immigrants were deeply interested in dramatic and musical organizations, and they started amateur societies and opened theatres on many frontiers.

larged and rebuilt into a combination theatre and circus ring, and within a few months became a regular theatre. In 1856 C. R. Thorne conducted a season of about three months here, producing regular drama with a good company.⁵⁰

The only real rival of Rice's Theatre, however, was the playhouse opened in 1857 by James H. McVicker. This theatre, erected at an estimated cost of \$85,000, was considered "the handsomest one in the west." It quickly overshadowed the older Rice Theatre, which was torn down in 1861. In the last difficult years Rice was not manager of the playhouse he had erected. He leased it in 1857 to Perry Marshall, and retired from active participation in the theatrical world.⁵¹

⁵⁰ From here Thorne traveled westward, playing in Leavenworth, Kan., and in the gold camps of Colorado. He and his daughter Emily became well known all over the West.

⁵¹ Bergfald, "Productions of Shakespeare in Chicago," 10.



From Jenne & Almini, Chicago Illustrated (in the Ill. State Hist. Library)

McVICKER'S THEATER ABOUT 1866.

Built of red brick with stone trim, it was considered one of the handsomest theaters in the West.



TRIAL LAWYERS I HAVE KNOWN

BY JOHN E. KEHOE*

THE memory of the life of a lawyer is fleeting, a name written upon the sandy shore of time, effaced by the oncoming waves of the next generation. His work is for the present; he lives only in the pages of dry and musty law reports, and soon the recollection is only a shadow. As members of a profession that has done so much for the advancement of civilization, it is not unbecoming that we say a word occasionally to keep alive the memory of those lawyers who were a power in their day but who are so soon forgotten, or remembered only in a vague and misty way.

It seems a long way back to the days when Lincoln rode the circuit in Illinois and tried cases before Judge David Davis in courthouses that cost less than a hundred dollars to build, and yet the days of Lincoln, John T. Stuart, Ninian W. Edwards, Stephen T. Logan, Anthony Thornton, Richard J. Oglesby, John M. Palmer, Leonard Swett, Norman B. Judd, Lyman Trumbull, Lambert Tree, and Milton Hay are not so remote.

On March 9, 1861, the case of *Dawson v. Ennis* was decided in the United States District Court in Springfield, Illinois. The case had been tried a few months before, Abraham Lincoln appearing on behalf of the plaintiff and John M. Palmer on behalf of the defendant. The fact that Lincoln, attorney for the plaintiff, had been inaugurated as President of the United States just five days before the decision was an-

* Mr. Kehoe died in 1934. This paper, which he read before the Law Club of Chicago, was recently called to the attention of the Editor by John P. McGoorty, judge of the Superior Court of Cook County.

nounced did not prevent Palmer from winning the suit. Later on, while John M. Palmer, who had defeated Lincoln in the last lawsuit that Lincoln tried, was still conducting an active and extensive practice, I entered his office as a law student and clerk. I was rather closely associated with him during his second campaign for governor of Illinois and his memorable campaign for United States senator which resulted in his election as senator on the one hundred and fifty-fourth ballot on March 11, 1891. At the time I entered his office, many of the noted men of Lincoln's day were still conspicuous in public affairs, and a few of them, in addition to Palmer, were engaged in the active practice of law. I remember Stuart, Edwards, and Logan. Stuart had the reputation of being a good lawyer; he had a convincing personality and was well liked. Edwards was a proud, haughty, arbitrary man, very particular about his dress. His contemporaries did not consider him so good a lawyer as either Stuart or Stephen T. Logan. Logan was an able man, somewhat careless in his appearance and dress. Apparently he rather prided himself on showing off that characteristic to Edwards. One of the stories current in my boyhood days was that Logan on one occasion in a company of lawyers including Edwards said, "Edwards, I wish somebody would give me eleven shirts." Edwards, of course, inquired as to the reason for this remark. Logan replied, "My associates tell me that every well-dressed gentleman should have at least twelve shirts."

I saw Judge David Davis in Springfield three or four times. As I recall him he had the most striking individuality of any man I have ever seen. He was at that time, of course, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. He had large land interests in Illinois which brought him to the state occasionally. He was very tall and weighed 320 pounds, dressed well in broadcloth, had a massive head with a rather closely clipped beard extending around his throat and the lower part of his face. He was universally regarded as a very

able man. He had been the presiding judge of the Eighth Judicial Circuit of Illinois, the circuit in which Lincoln practiced exclusively, so that by far the greater part of Lincoln's trial work had been done in Judge Davis' court. The judge had a marvelous acquaintance all over the state and had more to do with Lincoln's nomination in 1860 than any other one man, and was one of the few who accompanied Lincoln to Washington in February, 1861. His size, his mental and physical strength, and his striking personality made him a man that one could not forget.

In my boyhood days downstate the successful trial lawyers were mostly large men. John M. Palmer, while not a tall man, was broad-shouldered and had a massive, splendidly shaped head and a facial expression that carried conviction. He had a convincing voice, a personality of tremendous earnestness and sincerity. His intellectual honesty was put to a test in my presence on one occasion that deserves a place in the permanent history of the state. It was during the campaign for United States senator, in which he had 101 votes and Governor Richard J. Oglesby 100 votes, for 154 ballots. Covering the period from January 6 to March 11, 1891, there was, of course, the most intense excitement in the joint session of the legislature. There were three independent votes, Hosea H. Moore, James Cockrell, and H. E. Taubeneck. Oglesby needed those three votes to win and Palmer needed two of them. The three were voting consistently for Cicero J. Lindley, a well-known southern Illinois lawyer identified with the farming interests. One morning in the early part of March, Clayton E. Crafts, a Chicago lawyer who was presiding over the joint session of the legislature, Delos P. Phelps, a well-known downstate lawyer and businessman, who was chairman of the State Democratic Committee, and Reddick M. Ridgely, walked into Palmer's office much excited and reported that they had been in an all-night conference with Moore and Cockrell. They stated that these

two men would vote for Palmer and elect him on the first ballot that day if Palmer would make a slight concession to their demands for farm legislation in Washington. From their statement of the case it was clear that they all believed Palmer would make the concession without hesitation. He sat back of his desk with his jaw set tight for two hours, and, in effect, told them that he had made it clear to the people of Illinois what he stood for on that subject, and that he would make no concession even though it defeated him for the United States senatorship. The three prominent managers of his campaign left his office without getting the slightest concession from him, and the balloting went on for seven or eight days longer, when Moore and Cockrell finally voted for him without any promise whatever. In the present day of political premium I fear such conduct would be regarded as an excuse for an examination in a psychopathic hospital. I was acting as private secretary for Palmer at the time and still treasure my notes of that incident. Palmer was one of the most convincing advocates before either court or jury that I have ever known. He did not pay close attention to authority unless his opponent could produce a case that seemed directly in point, but his reasoning power and his magnificent personality usually brought him out the victor in any jury battle and made him a very hard man to defeat in an argument before the court.

Speaking of large men, his partner, William E. Shutt, was six feet four inches tall and weighed about two hundred and sixty pounds. His weight was bone and muscle and not fat. Palmer and Shutt's greatest rival at the Springfield bar at that time was Lloyd F. Hamilton, who was almost identically Shutt's size and build but was dark complexioned with black hair. Shutt and Hamilton both wore cutaway coats and large soft black Stetson hats. They were not only rivals in court, but disliked each other personally. Each of them had been a state senator and each knew nearly every

farmer in the county. It was impossible to get a jury that did not contain men who were well acquainted with one or both of them. As a boy I sat in the courtroom before Judge James A. Creighton listening to the Butler murder trial. Butler, a prominent stockman, while drunk, saw an enemy going up the marble steps of the Leland Hotel; he rode his horse up the steps, through the open doorway onto the marble floor of the hotel lobby, and while sitting in his saddle drew a revolver and killed his enemy as he stood in front of the hotel desk. Butler's trial for murder, of course, attracted much attention. Palmer and Shutt were on one side and Hamilton on the other. As the case developed, Shutt and Hamilton seemed to feel that the bantering back and forth had brought their personal courage into question, which each regarded as a serious matter in view of the fact that they personally knew most of the jurors. Before the case was over, Shutt, in the presence of the jury, struck Hamilton a blow in the face which sent him sprawling across the courtroom. The two men were quickly separated, but in view of their size it was quite an interesting spectacle.

For a generation, Hamilton was regarded as one of the ablest trial men in central Illinois. He had a rather fiery temper, but, in addition to having a commanding presence and a forceful attitude before a jury, he was a hard student and a real lawyer.

Governor Oglesby, whom I knew very well, could have been a great trial lawyer if he had wished. He was a man of ability, of fascinating personality, and, when he wished to use it, had command of real forensic oratory. He had practically given up the law, however, before I knew him and was devoting his time to public affairs and to his farm, "Oglehurst," at Elkhart.

Though most of the men whom I knew in my earlier days were large men, Major James A. Connolly was an exception. He was a small man with a very pugnacious face.

He had come out of the Civil War with a splendid record and substantial wounds. He was at one time United States District Attorney in the Springfield district. He was a real orator, put a tremendous amount of energy into the trial of a case and was a very hard man to defeat.

Milton Hay, of Springfield, was a lawyer who interested me very much both because of his personality and his intimate association with Lincoln. He was still in active practice when I was a law student. He was a large man, had a large head and rather massive face and always carried a profound and serious expression. He was a good general lawyer. He did not have any special reputation as a jury trial man, but was a man of real ability in the analysis of a legal question.

During the period of which I am speaking, Danville, Illinois, while a comparatively small place, had an unusual array of brilliant and able lawyers. General John C. Black, in his earlier days, lived and practiced law in that district. He, too, had a splendid record in the Civil War and was a man of commanding and attractive appearance. He was a handsome man, and a real orator as well as a sound lawyer. In those days I heard him in a number of addresses, both legal and political, and he made a profound impression upon my youthful mind.

William J. Calhoun, who in those days lived in Danville, was a man of most pleasing personality, a splendid after-dinner talker, and, in addition to that, was a very able lawyer and a statesman of sound judgment. In later years he was chosen by President Theodore Roosevelt for an unusually delicate and important personal mission to Venezuela, on behalf of the government, and this assignment kept him nearly a year in South America. His arduous toil and exhaustive research resulted in a confidential report which he made to Roosevelt that was not pleasing to that individual. In keeping with Roosevelt's impetuosity, if one cannot char-

acterize it by a stronger term, he declined to make a recommendation for any adequate payment for the services that Calhoun had rendered his government, and about all he got out of it was the amount of his personal expense.

Joseph B. Mann was practicing in Danville at that time. Joe was one of the most interesting characters this state ever produced. He was not a great lawyer, but he was clever and witty on his feet and had quite a reputation as a trial lawyer, which later followed him to Chicago. On one occasion, he and John F. Waters, who is still among us although not practicing very much in these days, both appeared in a drunken condition before Judge Tuthill. The judge, seeing that they were not then capable of trying the case, continued it on his own motion. Both of them objected to the continuance, and Mann demanded to know the reason why the court should do such an arbitrary thing as to decline the urgent request of both attorneys to proceed with the case. Judge Tuthill, with his usual bluntness, told them the real reason. He said that he was continuing the case because both attorneys were drunk and unfit to proceed. Mann immediately replied: "I have practiced in this court for many years and have tried many cases here and have listened to many rulings of this court; this is the first one that I can recall in which the court was right, and in this case it is on a question of fact and not a question of law."

Among the other able men at the Danville bar were E. R. E. Kimbrough, who later became a circuit judge, and, at a little later period, Colonel George T. Buckingham.

One of the famous trials in Danville in that early day was the prosecution before a police magistrate of Phocian Howard, an utterly irresponsible but well-known political newspaper writer, who was accustomed to deadheading his way on all the railroads of the state picking up information that he could work into a political article and sell to some newspaper. Unfortunately, he acquired the habit of trying

to cheat the local merchants, until one of them sent a deputy sheriff to serve an execution upon him. He chased the sheriff away with an axe and was promptly arrested on a warrant charging him with assault with a deadly weapon. Owing to his political prestige, no lawyer could refuse to appear for him although, of course, they all knew it did not carry with it any prospect of a fee. The next morning Phocian appeared before the police magistrate, ready for trial, and among his counsel were Joseph B. Mann, William J. Calhoun, Gen. John C. Black, E. R. E. Kimbrough, and every other lawyer of any standing in Danville except the prosecuting attorney. Mann, as spokesman for the array of counsel appearing for the defense, told the magistrate that they expected to establish to His Honor's satisfaction that the Illinois statute authorizing the arrest was unconstitutional and that each of the attorneys wanted at least half a day to talk upon the subject. The stipendiary magistrate, after listening to Joe for a few minutes, decided that the statute was unconstitutional and discharged the defendant.

During that same period Anthony Thornton of Shelbyville and Samuel W. Moulton were active rivals both in general practice and in trial work in southern Illinois. Both were very large, strong men physically, and were fine lawyers, forceful advocates before either court or jury. Both had long and illustrious careers and, in addition to their law practice, were quite active in public affairs.

George R. Wendling, as a young man, was building up quite a reputation as a lawyer, but found that his gift of oratory was apparently his greatest asset, and, realizing that fact, took to the public lecture field and gave up the practice of law, just as William J. Bryan did at a little later date. I knew Bryan very well in Jacksonville when I was in college there. He had just been admitted to the bar and continued to practice in Jacksonville until 1887 when he went to Nebraska. In those days he had a very remarkable gift of oratory

for a young man, but aside from that did not show any special legal ability. After leaving Jacksonville his law business did not amount to anything.

Speaking of orators, I heard Robert G. Ingersoll in two oral arguments in the Supreme Court in Springfield. He, also, was a rather large man, although not tall. He had a rather massive head, a full, round face, rather pleasing in appearance, and his voice and manner were unusually attractive. I was a law student at the time and on account of his reputation as an orator I sat through the argument. When he finished I was convinced that the other side was right. I remember distinctly that his attempt to distinguish cases did not impress me very favorably. At that time he lived in Peoria, but shortly thereafter went to New York.

In the trial of jury cases the cross-examination of adverse witnesses furnishes a fascinating study and, of course, is one of the most important factors. In thirty years of almost constant attendance in the courts of Cook County I believe the two best cross-examiners I have ever known were William J. Hines and A. S. Trude. Their methods and their mental approach to the matter in hand were radically different, but each was eminently successful in his own way. Hines had every element necessary to success in the trial of a jury case—a good lawyer, a fine physique, a pleasing personality, a voice of great power and charm, and a method of cross-examination that was logical and intelligent. He recognized the natural inclination of a witness to become an advocate of the side that called him, and by listening to the direct testimony of the witness was on the alert for exaggerated statements and for statements which he knew were inconsistent with known facts in the case and therefore were necessarily false. It might be that in the bigger things the witness had not testified to anything on which he could break him, but, in matters apparently less important, he was always sure that he could trap a witness who was trying to be an advocate for

the other side, and he had a marvelous capacity for developing those seemingly trivial matters into an importance that would show the witness to be a deliberate liar. I have never known a lawyer who was his equal in this respect. I have often seen him completely destroy the effect of a witness' testimony although he had not tried seriously to cross-examine the witness on the more important elements of his testimony.

Trude had an entirely different, although equally effective, method of breaking an adverse witness. I speak of him in the past tense because, while still alive and happy, he has not been in active practice in recent years. His wit and brilliant repartee are matters of common knowledge, but they were only incidental to his method of attack on a witness he thought was not telling the truth. He could throw his own personality into the examination of an adverse witness in such a way that he would take the heart out of any dishonest witness and make him think that he was in a bad box even though he may have been lying only in minor details and not in connection with the more important things. Like Hines, he had the ability to group the things in regard to which he was sure the witness was not telling the truth, then, with marvelous cleverness, he would lead the witness away from the point on which he hoped to break him, and make a sudden return to it later. At that moment, when the witness' mind was not upon his former statement on the subject, he would involve the witness in confusion where a less skillful man would not have been able to create a ripple. Both Hines and Trude were forceful orators, both having a remarkable ability to drive home a point in a manner that was absolutely conclusive. Furthermore, they understood the psychology of having a jury laugh with you but never laugh at you. I saw an old colored woman upset Hines one day by creating a laugh at his expense. It was before Judge Joseph E. Gary. Hines was cross-examining this fat, comfortable-

looking old colored woman when his questioning was interrupted for a moment by Judge Gary to announce to some lawyers, who had just appeared in front of the bench, that he could not take up the matter that they had submitted to him because it was entirely beyond his jurisdiction. Judge Gary had a clear, penetrating voice; and the old colored woman heard the expression "beyond my jurisdiction," and it sounded like a good expression to her. A moment later, when Hines asked a somewhat complicated question, she replied with great frankness, "I declare to goodness, Mr. Lawyer, that question is beyond my jurisdiction."

While mentioning Judge Gary let me pay a brief tribute to his memory. I spent three months before him in the second trial of Adolph L. Luetgert for murder, and tried many other cases in his court. Always even-tempered, with an abhorrence of any back-room tactics, he required that everything in the case should take place in open court. He was ready to admit his error on motion for new trial if serious error had been committed, but was wholly indifferent to consequences if both parties had had a fair trial. On motion for new trial I heard him say dozens of times, "I do not care to have you review the facts in this case. Tell me whether I committed some error." In the trial of a case he would frequently indulge in quaint or witty remarks, provided the attorneys had the good sense to take his remarks with a smile and go ahead with the trial of the case without making it an excuse to try to say something funny themselves. In this latter case he would immediately shut up like a clam and there would be no more levity in that trial. I was trying a case against George Brant once in his court. George, an incessant talker, had just finished a long harangue in an effort to get the judge to change one of his rulings. When he finally subsided, Judge Gary looked down at me and in a voice that Brant could have heard if he were listening, said, "That man has got the worst impediment in his silence of any man I ever knew."

Brant and Judge Samuel S. Page, a brother of Judge George Page, tried many cases against each other. When they were against each other, apparently each tried to do all the talking. They were both able men in a jury trial. Judge Page was courteous and good-natured always, even in his cross-examination of an adverse witness, and very skillful in apparently making the witness ashamed of himself. Brant had a loud, rasping voice, a persistency in asking questions over and over in spite of the rulings of the court, and quite an ability to play the hypocrite, making the jury believe that he was just a rustic and that this man across the table was greatly his superior in legal knowledge and ability. He dressed this part. His costume was very simple, including high-topped boots that were never shined. In a closing argument he could almost cry in telling the jury how profoundly he understood that he had been outmatched by the ability of the man on the other side, and hoping that they would not take it out on his poor client. In one case which he and Judge Page tried against each other before Judge Philip Stein, the judge, who was never disposed to be very courteous to lawyers before him, finally gave up and went to sleep. The record showed that many objections were made that were not ruled on by the court. When a bill of exceptions was presented, this was pointed out as one ground of reversal in the Appellate Court. Judge Stein approved the bill of exceptions, and at the end of the same, over his signature, in his own handwriting, said that he did not pass upon those numerous exceptions because he was asleep at the time, and challenged the Appellate Court to read the record and say if he was not justified in going to sleep.

I once heard Adolph Moses, speaking at a bar banquet at which Judge Stein was present, say that the Judge was the most even-tempered man on the bench—that he was equally mean to everybody.

In the same period with William J. Hines and A. S.

Trude, the name of Charles M. Hardy also deserves mention. He was their contemporary at the height of their power as trial lawyers. He was an unusually able man, but very lazy. He would much rather sit in his office and recount interesting experiences than either prepare or try a lawsuit, and yet in action he was a very hard man to beat. He was a rather large man with a neatly clipped beard, neatly dressed and groomed. When he was really interested in a case he would prepare himself both as to law and facts. He was an excellent legal reasoner, with a quiet manner before a jury that was impressive because of its apparent simplicity. He had a habit of occasionally telling a story to a jury. In such case the story always fitted the situation perfectly and was probably useful to him. I remember hearing him, in a case where an action had been long delayed, tell the story of an old backwoodsman in southern Illinois, who had sued a weekly paper at the county seat for calling him a hippopotamus. The editor did not recall having so slandered the old fellow, but in looking back through his files found that some ten years before his paper had been guilty of the statements mentioned. As a matter of curiosity he sent out into the woods to have the old fellow looked up and asked why he hadn't started this suit ten years sooner if he really thought he had been slandered. The old fellow replied that he never saw a hippopotamus until he went to the circus the week before.

On another occasion, in a newspaper slander suit, I heard Hardy illustrate a point by an alleged experience of Opie Read when he was editor of the *Arkansas Traveler*. The story was to the effect that Read had wired from Arkansas to New York for a railroad pass, signing the telegram, "Opie Read, Editor *Arkansas Traveler*." A wire came back inquiring, "What is the *Arkansas Traveler*?" Read promptly replied: "The *Arkansas Traveler* is a newspaper of widest circulation; it goes everywhere; last month it nearly went to hell, that's the reason I need the pass."

I suppose that with most young lawyers there is a certain amount of hero worship connected with the names of famous criminal lawyers. As a boy I heard a great deal of William O'Brien and his marvelous success as a criminal lawyer both in Peoria and surrounding parts of the state and also in Chicago. However, when I listened to him in a murder trial, whatever reverence his name had inspired in my mind was dispelled. In that case he was forceful and aggressive, but his rough, bulldog tactics did not appeal to me. He apparently was trying to frighten the other side, but I decided that he would not frighten me a bit if I were on that side. From all that I have heard other people say about O'Brien, perhaps I saw him at his worst and not at his best.

When I came to Chicago, Luther Laflin Mills was just about to retire from a brilliant career as a trial lawyer. His fascinating oratory, his scholarly way of presenting his case, his quiet and courteous demeanor and his unfailing capacity for knowing just what to do and how to do it made him a really great trial lawyer. I think the most effective cross-examination in a murder case that I have ever known was one in which he disposed of a witness in a single sentence. He was prosecuting a young man for murder. The charge was that the defendant had been caught in the act of burglarizing a store and had killed the storekeeper and escaped. The young man's mother was put on the stand as an alibi witness. She had declared in a convincing, motherly way, that it was her custom to stay up until her boy came home every night and to see that he was tucked away carefully and safely in his bed before she retired; that she had done so on the night in question, and that he was home at the hour when this murder was committed. At the close of the direct examination, Mills arose, bowed courteously to the old lady, and said, "Madam, this is your son?" She replied in the affirmative with considerable pride. He looked at her a moment sympathetically and said, "Madam, I don't blame you," and

reached out his hand and helped her down from the witness chair.

For a number of years I had considerable experience both with and against Judge Russell M. Wing, who I believe was the ablest defender in a desperate criminal case of any man I have ever known. Wing was not much of a lawyer but he had a marvelously accurate intuition in picking jurors and in marshaling facts that would appeal to the jury that was sworn to try the issues. He seemed to know instinctively what the mental attitude of every man on the jury would be toward any given combination of facts and circumstances. In his closing arguments he did not address the jury as a whole but made a mental group of the jurors and addressed different arguments to different men. He was inclined to be lazy, but when he got thoroughly aroused he would prepare a criminal case with the most exhaustive and painstaking care. His preparation consisted almost wholly of marshaling every detail that he could get, in a manner advantageous to his client, with but little thought as to the law. I assisted him in three or four murder cases. In the preparation of one of these, he personally examined at least fifty witnesses and had the interviews written up. He then went through every paragraph blue-penciling the statements with notations to the effect that no jurymen would believe this statement, certain types of jurymen will not believe that statement, and so on, until he developed a mental picture of a story that he believed his jury would accept. He then confined his preparation to the development of all the facts he could find tending to sustain that line of thought. He cross-examined all his witnesses with great care before they went upon the stand, and they seldom broke under cross-examination. In a long trial he had a remarkably accurate memory of what the witnesses had said.

In one murder trial, in which we spent three weeks putting in evidence, he took me with him to his hotel room at

the adjournment of court, lay down upon the bed without removing his shoes, collar, or coat, ordered something to eat sent up, and asked me to start reading certain parts of the transcript of testimony. I read testimony to him all night. A part of the time he was walking around the room, but most of the time he was lying in as comfortable a position as he could upon the bed, but he never closed his eyes. Next morning he ate his breakfast, rubbed a little soap and water on his face and hands with a towel, brushed his hair back, and started in on the closing argument without apparently thinking for a moment of the fact that he had had no rest and had not even removed his collar. He talked all day long without showing any weariness, without asking any courtesy from the court, and without using any notes. Wing was not very tall but was very fat. He had short stubby hands, a large face with very small, piercing eyes, a voice that ordinarily was not attractive but that had a peculiar quality of pathos that would produce a thrill when he got to the point where he wanted to appeal to the emotions of a jury. His lack of exercise, his overweight, and his irregular habits of diet and rest resulted in Bright's disease that carried him away in his prime.

Many lawyers of an earlier day arouse our admiration because of the marvelously accurate knowledge they had of all branches of law, and their ability to act as counsel in any important legal matter, no matter what its character, and also to try any kind of case in court successfully. In this day of specialization these men seem to be a memory.

Edwin M. Ashcraft, father of one of our brilliant younger men, was of this type. In earlier years it was my fortune to be associated with him quite a good deal. He was an able trial lawyer, painstaking in his preparation, and forceful in every department of trial work. In addition to that, you could ask his offhand judgment on almost any legal proposition and get an accurate reply, both on prin-

ciple and authority. Among his contemporaries who we all know had this same general accurate and profound ability and legal learning were John P. Wilson, John S. Miller, Edwin K. Walker, Stephen S. Gregory, John J. Herrick, Thomas Dent, and many others we cannot include in this study.

WHAT ABOUT TEACHING THE HISTORY OF ILLINOIS IN OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

BY O. FRITIOF ANDER

WHAT do you say about the teaching of Illinois history in our public schools?

A large number of members of the Illinois State Historical Society would undoubtedly feel that the history of a local community and of the state offers the teachers of history and their students a ringside seat from which they could watch the moving drama of the story of man. Some might even be of the opinion that Illinois should follow the example of Pennsylvania in making the study of the history of the state compulsory in our public schools. Others might feel that the junior historian movement—as expressed in the organization of “junior historian clubs” in our public schools and the publication of a junior historian magazine consisting of contributions by the students—offers a special magic formula by which our future citizens might secure a special interest in the history of the state. The larger number of our public school teachers, however, would be rather dubious about the value of any contributions made by a state historical society toward a better understanding of the past and the present.

Last fall Professor J. G. Randall, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and Miss Hazel Phillips, president of the Illinois Council for Social Studies, appointed a joint committee consisting of members from both organizations to study the question of the feasibility and the desirability of various forms of co-operation. The methods by which the Illinois State Historical Society might contribute to the en-

richment of the teaching of history in our public schools were to be particularly investigated. Before the outbreak of the war, Dr. Paul M. Angle, then Secretary-Treasurer of the Illinois State Historical Society, had intended to propose a Teachers' Institute on Illinois History as a means of interesting our social science teachers in state and local history. No definite steps toward approaching the Illinois Council for Social Studies, which represents the social science teachers of our state, were taken, however, until last spring, and then these led to the creation of the joint committee referred to at the opening of this paragraph.

Agitation for a law similar to the Pennsylvania one of 1943 to make the study of Illinois history compulsory would be most unfortunate. It would meet solid opposition from our educators, superintendents, principals, and not the least from our history teachers. The aims, though desirable, would be largely defeated by compulsion. Although a great deal of hope is held out for the growth of the junior historian movement, it would be impossible to say that this movement has met with the whole-hearted support of the social science teachers in New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas, where it has been introduced. The organization of historical clubs in various schools, under the inspiration of an interested teacher, is an excellent method of stimulating study of local and state history. The publication of a junior historian magazine—to reward the interested students by printing their articles based upon more or less original research—is very commendable. The fact remains, however, that these junior historian publications have, after an existence of four or five years, no more than 2,500 or 3,000 subscribers among the students in any of the three states where the movement is well established. This number is not insignificant by any means, but it would be much larger if the social science teachers were interested in promoting the movement. In reality, comparatively few social science teachers in the states

of New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas are able to see sufficient virtues in the junior historian movement to stimulate its growth.

The Illinois State Historical Society published some time ago a guide to material on Illinois history, which it was hoped might be useful to the teachers of history in our public schools. Unfortunately, our teachers have not made extensive use of this booklet.

The publication of a school-level history of Illinois prepared with the best of intentions by a scholar of reputation would soon gather dust instead of serving a useful purpose as collateral reading in courses on American history. The publication of aids and reading material for both teachers and students would, under present circumstances, be a waste of both time and money.

In the state of Illinois we have many able teachers of the social sciences in spite of the fact that wage conditions are deplorable and greater rewards elsewhere lure many of the better teachers away from their profession unless the ideals of service are uppermost in their minds. Under less complicated conditions in the progress of our civilization, society was probably both able and willing to suffer the consequences of poorly paid teachers. Today it is catastrophic. What the Illinois State Historical Society might well do as one of the first steps toward a closer co-operation with our social science teachers is to request an investigation of the salaries of our public school teachers, insisting that we as a state cannot afford to have our teachers underpaid.

Let us examine certain facts which have a definite bearing upon the degree of success we might have in securing the co-operation of our social science teachers in promoting a study of the history of our state. These facts must determine our entire approach to the problem. To refuse to recognize them would be synonymous with failure.

In the past, local and state historical societies often grew

out of a peculiar sense of localism or sectionalism, a pride in the community, or state, very often on the part of "well-born" and "well-bred" citizens whose parents and grandparents had played an important role in the growth of the locality or state. It was not always an unintelligent approach to history, even if the interest was built on a genealogical pride, a collector's curiosity and the mere desire to possess rare historical objects, or simply a pride in the community or state. Very often this interest led to the publication of county histories, upon which professional historians have looked too often with scorn and contempt. The authors were not trained historians, to be sure, but the biographical information which these volumes contain often has considerable value and is difficult to secure elsewhere. Even the publications of state historical societies have tended to be confined to extremely limited topics and the glorification of the great men of the state. The genealogical interests of the members of these societies, their antiquarian interests as well as their own peculiar interests in life itself, reflect themselves in the old dusty files of state historical society publications. Sometimes history seemed to be anything at all out of the past, even if it were a mere stone, a creek, a vase, a hill—anything associated with an important personage, or what seemed to be an important event. Often a reverence rather than an intelligent understanding of the past was back of the publication of various articles.

As a result, local and state historical societies tended to attract a small group of people who had a common, but a very narrow, interest in the past. It was a selective group, to be sure, which was, if anything, proud of its exclusiveness. It did not especially care to enlarge its numbers. When there was developed a professional school of historians whose interests were broader, and whose attitude was more objective, these remained aloof from local and state historical societies. They became members of national historical societies dedi-

cated to a critical approach to history.

Gradually the scope of history was broadened, and various interpretations of history led to intensive and specialized research. Fewer and fewer persons sought to write monumental national histories. Co-operative historical efforts led to such works as *The American Nation: A History*, the *Chronicles of America*, *The History of American Life*, and others. These testify to the productiveness of American historians, as well as to their specialized interests. This activity before long reflected itself in the college curriculum, where survey courses of history were soon outnumbered by advanced courses limited to a phase or period in the history of a nation.

Meanwhile, important changes were taking place in the curricula of the primary and secondary schools. The objectives and aims of education were studied and less stress was placed upon the training for "citizenship," and a greater emphasis upon education as a preparation for life itself. The classical tradition, with the study of languages as the core of the curriculum, was altered and modified as the aims of education were broadened. Language study and, in addition, the study of history, had to be integrated into a new program. The history of the world seemed more appropriate as a course of study than ancient history. A growing world consciousness made such a course seem even more important than one in American history. The development and growth of other social sciences enriched the curricula and encroached upon the place of history in the school program.

Thus, while the trend in higher education was definitely toward specialization, the trends in primary and secondary schools were directed toward a broader education. Survey courses in history in the colleges decreased, specialized courses increased. In the high schools history became, on the other hand, an expression of all the social sciences and a method of teaching them.

The historian in the college became an authority on the

Civil War, Reconstruction, the Critical Period in American History, the American Revolution, or some even more narrow phase of history, as for instance the Constitutional Aspects of Reconstruction, or the Economic Aspects of Reconstruction. Survey courses were scoffed at by these specialists as impossibilities and as ridiculous generalizations or evasions of history. The specialist himself was a real historian. Meanwhile, the teacher of history in the secondary school became a "social scientist." A gulf which might already have existed between the college teacher of history and the high school teacher was widened. In the latter's search for an adequate preparation for the increasingly difficult task of being more than just a history teacher, she could find little aid from the college teacher and much less understanding.

Besides being exposed to the harangues against trends in modern education, the social science teacher was also exposed, during her training, to perhaps equally severe criticisms of amateur historians, and of those who had an antiquarian interest in history. County histories were especially held up in college seminars as unreliable. She was introduced to a critical approach to history and told of the necessity of weighing the material and the danger of making sweeping generalizations. This alone might have been enough to frighten the social science teachers from forming a closer contact with a county historical society or even a state historical society, if the exclusiveness of these groups and their particularism had not done so.

The social science teacher was in a dilemma. She was the jack-of-all-trades, which trends in education compelled her to be. In her history courses, she also frequently had to teach anthropology, economics, politics, government, sociology, and geography, and in her spare time she read papers, attended school functions, taught Sunday School, sang in the church choir, and did almost everything except stand on her head. This would have been indecent; had she done

so she would have been fired. If she had had the courage to attend a local historical society's meeting, she might have been exposed to a local amateur's ramblings, and in that case would have regretted that she had skipped the church choir's practice that evening for a little excitement and change. After such an experience, she might feel that a state historical society, though a larger group than the local historical society, was composed of essentially the same kind of people: sour, sober, dignified, talkative, uninteresting, unrealistic, venerated, old, respectable people—all of them more interested in the past than in the future. Grant Wood's picture of the "Daughters of Revolution," with a few elders thrown in for good measure, became her image of a state historical society.

What could such a group offer the social science teacher? This image of a state historical society might be familiar to many social science teachers after an unfortunate experience with an unprogressive county historical society or even a state historical society.

But, fortunately, "trends" which brought the realities of the classroom problems of the schools further and further away from those which the social science teacher had been prepared to deal with, have come to an end. The tendencies in higher education are definitely toward a broad, cultural education, which will be extremely useful to a person preparing himself or herself for teaching.

The professional historian's specialized interests have brought him closer and closer to the specific, and into contact with state historical societies and their publications. The "specific" he interprets broadly. He may not be interested in a community because it happens to be in a given state. It might be the origin of the community which has offered a challenge to him, and his research might carry him to archives in Europe, as well as to those in the state. In the hands of the skilled historian it is American history, and

perhaps a bit of European history, that is reflected in the community. The professional historian has learned that the publications of state historical societies may contain worthwhile articles, and from these he proceeds to the real sources themselves, the original manuscripts.

Under wise and able leadership, the state historical societies have, in recent years, employed an increasingly critical approach to history. Their publications indicate higher scholarship requirements and an effort to interest a larger group of people. The exclusiveness of such societies has been disappearing, and more and more of them have sought to aid the social science teacher. In a state historical society, the objectives of the college teachers and high school teachers might find a common ground, a common interest, and a common problem.

But nowhere in the United States has a state historical society fully recognized the problem of the social science teachers in the utilization of local and state history to enrich their teaching. This is nevertheless necessary, if we are to expect their co-operation. The history of our community and state is important only so far as it serves the general aims of education. Localism and sectionalism have been sources of difficulties in our history and natural growth, and they should not be encouraged. Local and state history, unless properly integrated with the idea of world consciousness, should by no means form a part of our curriculum in the public schools. As a result of changing times, which make the thoughts of yesterday obsolete today, it is highly unintelligent to expect that material on Illinois history written several decades ago would lend itself to use in today's classroom. The entire approach to Illinois history must be changed and made useful in the formation of ideals essential in an atomic age.

Thus the cornerstone for any kind of successful co-operation between our state historical societies and the social

science teachers of a state is yet to be laid. The teacher must be shown how to use local and state history in the study of both American and world history, in order to create a feeling on the part of the child that peace is built upon ideals of unity, the brotherhood of mankind. But this larger loyalty to man or humanity must, in order to be understandable to the child, be built upon loyalties to the parents, to the community, to the state, and to the nation. Almost every community and state in America represents in its population a little of the history of the world. Culture has never known boundaries, and every community in America is the heir of our western civilization in all its complex forms and origins.

As part of a step to convince the social science teacher of the usefulness of state and local history in achieving the general aims of education, our teachers' colleges, liberal arts colleges, and universities should be encouraged to include in their summer-school programs courses in the teaching of state and local history, directed toward those ends to which our public schools are dedicated. These courses might be best conducted as "workshops," consisting of a combination of lectures and historical tours. Stress should be placed upon the historical composition of the various national groups in Illinois, their cultural contributions, and the growth of our industries and manufacturing. In this manner the history of Illinois becomes a means toward a better understanding of the many complex changes in our western civilization. Social science teachers enrolling in these workshops would be provided with useful bibliographical data, and with teaching techniques necessary for an intelligent and relevant use of state and local historical material as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself.

The Illinois State Normal University plans to introduce such a workshop this summer. Augustana College and Monmouth College are co-operating in a historical tour of Illinois aimed to serve the same purposes for our social science teach-

ers as the workshop. There is every reason to expect that other colleges and universities will follow the example set by the above institutions. Over a period of years it is likely that many of our social science teachers will have availed themselves of these services of our colleges.

The next step could be the organization of junior historian clubs in our public schools, directed by able teachers trained in the above-mentioned workshops, and the publication of attractive junior historian magazines containing articles written by club members. State historical societies could also find other means of recognizing the interests of students in state history.

But almost simultaneously it would be necessary to provide the teachers with reading materials on state and local history which would not run contrary to those ideals so essential in our age. The consequences of sectionalism can be no more effectively illustrated than through the pages of the history of a community or state, and nowhere can more effective evidence of good will and harmony be found. In determining the nature of the material, it must be recognized that children of various ages have different interests, and it would be advisable to follow those suggestions made for the various grades by the Committee on the Teaching of History in Schools and Colleges appointed by the American Historical Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the National Council for Social Studies. Thus for the fourth and fifth grades there would be one type of material, for the seventh and eighth grades another, and for the eleventh and twelfth grades still another. The material must be prepared with the utmost care even after the desirable topic for a given grade has been decided upon, with particular attention given to the vocabulary limitations of the children in the various grades.

The superintendents, principals, and educators will applaud any scientific approach to the problem of the attain-

ment of worthy educational aims. If, in co-operation with the Illinois Council for Social Studies, the Illinois State Historical Society is ready to undertake such a scientific approach, a revolutionary step has been taken toward making the study of history in our public schools more meaningful and significant.

What are the advantages of a knowledge of local and state history to a social science teacher of today? In Europe, before the war, social science teachers would direct their classes in a tour to a historic castle or cathedral, or an ancient wall. All of us are able to see the merits of such expeditions, and feel envious of the European teachers. What do we have in America? To be sure, there is no old castle or cathedral in Illinois, and no ancient Acropolis. But we have something which the nations in Europe do not have; we have people from all corners of the world. People are certainly more interesting than ancient walls! In almost any community there are people of various national origins. The local community represents a section of American history and some world history. Perhaps its first settlers were from New England. When and why did they establish New Salem or Springfield, or any other town? What did they pay for the land? Did they encounter Indians? Who were the next settlers? Maybe they were Germans; and, if so, why did they leave Germany? What were their religious views as compared to the first settlers? Perhaps they had left Germany for religious freedom. How did they secure land? What change had been made in our land policy between the arrivals of the first settlers and the immigrants? What is the difference between a frontiersman and a pioneer?

Almost regardless of the location of the community, its settlement was a part of the mighty drama of the westward movement, the conquest of an empire. Here men and women established a civilization with all its intricate social, economic, and political problems. Problems of government are to

be found in the organization of the town, the township, and the county, and their relationship to the state. Roads and perhaps canals and railroads were built, and certainly the rivalry of political parties found a resounding echo in town and county elections. Banks were founded to meet the needs for credit, and many of these failed.

There are almost no limitations upon the possibilities of interweaving local history with that of the nation and the world. The only limitation is the resourcefulness of the teacher. The possibility of actually utilizing real source materials by this method is a great advantage. Samples of wild-cat money might be brought into the class, as well as "worthless" railroad bonds, naturalization papers, receipts for ocean passage, letters, day-books, picture albums. Older citizens, men and women, who still remember the horse-and-buggy days and the kerosene lamps and the spinning wheels, could be interviewed by the students. No laboratory could be more effectively used by the social science teacher than the community in which the pupils live. Whether or not this method of teaching could be overdone is a question. It would largely depend upon the teacher, but it is recommended.

FROM ENGLAND TO ILLINOIS IN 1821*

The Journal of William Hall

(Continued from the March issue)

EDITED BY JAY MONAGHAN

April 21 to 28

This week has been marked to us by one of the severest afflictions that can befall a Parent. The death of a beloved Child accidentally caused by his Brother the distress could only have been heightened by the Act being wilful which is so far from being the case that I have not even negligence to impute to my poor Robert. On the fatal Morning of the 24th April I heard the sound of two of my Sons passing through the Porch in to which my Room opens soon after I heard the report of a Rifle. I lay till it was light enough to see to dress perhaps (twenty minutes) on going out it was just 5 o Clock I heard a strange noise which I concluded to proceed from the Boys driving in the Oxen which I thought might have broken out. going into the Garden to ascertain the cause I saw poor Bob lying writhing himself & rolling upon the ground apparently in the most exquisite torment I concluded him to [be] dreadfully wounded It was some time before I could get him to speak at last in answer to my repeated enquiries where he was hurt he replied, "Oh Father I am not wounded but I have killed Ned & I wish I was dead myself." the involuntary exclamation which I uttered brought out his mother. the scene which ensued cannot be described. two

* As explained in the introduction to the first half of this article, the original journal published here without any changes in spelling or punctuation. One device has been added however. Since the original account was written in ink, and various additions and corrections were made in pencil—apparently by the author himself—we have enclosed all such additions and corrections in brackets. The reader should also be warned about Hall's habit of writing sums of money without any decimal point.

of our neighbours coming up (for Bobs cries had alarmed them all to a considerable distance) assisted me to convey them in & lay them upon the Bed I went out with them in search of the Body which was a considerable time before it could be found, owing to poor Roberts not being collected enough to give a proper description of the place where it lay at length it was brought in & the next day interred in a Spot which he had chosen for his own Garden. This fatal Accident has caused me by far the greatest affliction I ever knew

Wrote to J: Marter with an Acct of this dreadful accident on the 28th Ap: & to W Thomson on the 5 May but did not mention the circumstance

Wrote to A: T: with an account of our dreadful misfortune

April 21 to 28 & to May 5

Weather fine & growing. U. Emmerson came a day & a half wth his horse to assist the Oxen in plowing the Squares West brot. in 50 bush Corn at 22 Cts.

May 5 to 12th

Fine growing weather. Mr Trimmer arrived at Wamborough on Wednesday he brought me Letters from both my Brothers & from Stevenson Betsey got letters from Mrs S: Sally, & Alexr. Thomson Mr T: also brot. me money 270 dollr. & a Box, which is at Princeton wth his luggage Paid Mr Birkbeck 21 dollars for rent of Cottage. The Red bird made its appearance Muskitoes exceeding troublesome

May 12 to 19

The heaviest Rain we have had fell on the 12th & 13th. Martens came. Peas in pod & almost fit to gather. Strawberries ripe. A: Emmerson¹ began plowing the Squares on Saturday.

¹ Alan Emmerson settled at Albion about 1817 or 1818. He was the grandfather of the late Louis L. Emmerson, governor of Illinois from 1929 to 1933. Alan Emmerson served several terms on the Edwards county board of commissioners, was the presiding judge of the county court for twelve years and county treasurer for a short time. He was also a member of the legislature for two terms (1838-1842) while Abraham Lincoln was serving in that body.

May 12th to 19 continued

The mason who built the chimney protesting he understood our bargain to be for \$24 the one chimney instead of \$12 each which was our agreement I offered to pay him for his time at \$1''25 per day which after some difficulty he accepted I paid him \$17''50 for 14 days I also paid Twigg \$1''50 Mr Hebert \$5. Cooper \$6. Collier \$33:50 Mr Clark \$70. The young Cow calved

May 19 to 27th

Much rain with Thunder. A. Emmerson ploughed our land for which I paid him \$6. The Corn was planted on Saturday. Robert went to Indiana with A: Emmerson. Received a letter from my Brother Robert dated Mar: 24th.

May 27 to June 2d

Still Thunder storms. Muskitoes very bad. paid West \$11. for 50 bush Corn \$9 on Ben Clarks Acct. planted some Peas of this years growth

June 3 to 10th 1822

Heavy storms the beginning of the week busy in the Garden digging & in hoeing Corn Miscellany Meeting at Mr Birkbecks Wrote to my Brother Charles. Thos. Ayres wrote to Ewell & Robert to Mr. Barron. dined on Sunday at Mrs Springs

June 10th to 16

Fine till Saturday when we had a Thunder storm. We have all been busy hoeing Corn & Gardening.

June 16 to 23d

Thunder storms, occasionally. Busy this week putting up the Garden Fence. Robert finished ploughing the Corn field with A. Emmersons Horse

June 23 to 30th

Thunder storms as usual. All employed this week in hoeing & in helping A. Emmerson to reap his wheat on Thursday.

to July 7

Very wet wth Thunder in ye early part of ye week fine after. Walked to Harmony wth Thomas on Wednesday & returned on Saturday they had done much since we were there last year & had nearly finished their new Church it is a structure far surpassing any thing I had expected to see in this new Country. their are four entrances the distance 120 ft. from [side] each opposite one, the upper story is [120] supported by 28 Pillars of Walnut, Cherry, & Sassafrass the Walnut were 6 ft. in circumference & 25 ft. high the others were 21 ft. high & circumference in proportion. Their wheat was good & they were harvesting it, & mowing their Hay. Their Peaches were abundant. Their Apples a partial Crop some trees very full others without an Apple. we walked over their Cut of Island to see their stock of young Horses & Cattle I did not think them superior [but] they were tolerable but did not answer my expectations. Our expences for the time we remained were 562. & I laid out $37\frac{1}{2}$ for Putty, 50 cts. for a Hoe, $37\frac{1}{2}$ for Diacolon² & paid David Thomson \$7 for trees & 3 bush of Potatoes which I had of him in Mar:

July 7 to 14th

Weather much the same scarcely two fine days together. our neighbors complain of sickness thank God we have been very healthy. Moved the old Cabin from ye Garden & raised it near the House wth the assistance of our two neighbours A. & U: Emmerson, for a kitchen. Paid U: Emmerson \$7 which settled all matters between us except $6\frac{1}{4}$ Cts. which he owes me.

² Diachylon, an adhesive plaster made from litharge and olive oil.

July 14 to 28th

Weather fine & growing Thunder storms frequent. Our neighbours getting better thank God we have yet had no sickness. bought two steers of Bailey ye 29th for which with the Yoke & Ring I am to give him my note for \$30 Dollars payable at Xmas. The Flower Garden is now in its perfection. The Flowers of the highest growth now in bloom are Convolvulus³ Major, Sunflower, Palma Christi,⁴ Hibiscus, Hollyhock Evening Primrose & Indian Corn. Of the [Corn] Second, Balsam Marvel of Peru, Cockscombs, Globe Amaranthus,⁵ Cotton. Of the Third, Sweet William, Nightshade, Sweet Pea, Mignonette, Lobelia, Hawks Eye,⁶ Thyme, &c.

Our Water Melons, Musk Melons, & all other [Plants] Fruit of that kind are now coming in we have cut 4 Water Melons & have many nearly fit. [Our] The kitchen vegetables are Potatoes, Kidneybeans, Squashes, Cabbages, Carrots, Roasting Ears, Indian Peas, Lima [or] Butter Beans, Cucumbers, Onions.

The Sow pigged on the 25th.

July 28th to Augst. 10th

Thomas employed in the kitchen. The Boys & myself in the Garden. I sent Robert to Bailey with my note for \$30 for the Oxen as agreed upon between us but he said he cou'd not do without them & declined letting him have them. Augst. 4th was the day of Election at Albion Thomas & myself went over & gave our notes for Mr Pell⁷ who was elected the Representative for the County & on the next Friday about 60 of us supped with him to celebrate his first Election.

³ The most common species of convolvulus is the morning-glory.

⁴ The castor-oil plant.

⁵ The round flower heads of the globe amaranth are noteworthy because they retain color after drying.

⁶ Hawkweed, a weedy herb having flowers of red or orange hues.

⁷ Gilbert T. Pell, son-in-law of Morris Birkbeck, was a representative from Edwards County in the Illinois General Assembly from 1822 to 1824 and from 1828 to 1830. A strong antislavery man, in 1824 he actively opposed the calling of a convention to change the state constitution for the purpose of legalizing slavery in Illinois.

Wrote to my Brother Robert on the 10th. but the Letter was not sent till the Tuesday following. Water Melons are now in Season the best way of cultivating them seems to be plant them in hills a rod apart, with some dung under them. Musk Melons do not spread so wide, & nutmeg still less so. More seeds than you mean to stand should be planted & they should be carefully looked over after they come up or the Flies will destroy them.

The season for planting is from the beginning of April to the end of May.

Augst. 10th to 17th.

Thomas employed in the kitchen, Boys & myself in the Garden & in girdling trees

17 to 24th

All employed as last week.

24 to 31st

Employed in the Garden & in quarrying. Melons still in full season, ours very good.

Augst. 31 to Sepr. 22

Weather has been much as usual seldom a week without rain. it begins to grow cold & we have lately been obligd to leave of breakfasting in the Porch. our melons are still good but we do not feel so much pleasure in eating them as during the warm weather when they were a standing dish four times a day. Corn Bread & musk melon for breakfast. Water Melons at noon & after dinner, & frequently in the afternoon & musk again for Supper & in warm weather they never went away uncut.

We have been employed in curing & stacking Fodder, & in cutting & stacking the Corn in the Squares. I have bought, a Horse of Hartley with Saddle, Bridle, & Collar & Gears for a Plough for \$50 to be paid in silver if my remittance arrives in time if not he to have his option of a bill upon England

for the Amt. or the Horse & Articles return'd after 3 wks we had the Horse on Saturday 21st. I also bought 4 Hogs for \$4 of him. Spent the Even'g of the 17th at the Miscellany Meeting at Mr. Birkbecks very pleasantly. Mr & Mrs Hebert spent a few days wth. us fr: ye 6th to ye 11th

Very large Flocks of Pigeons are now flying about the Country they generally fly from [South to North] North to South in the mornngs & return in the Evenings.

Sepr. 22d to Octr. 6th

Fine cool weather with Showers occasionally

We have been employed in ploughing the Squares & sowing wheat in them. Octr 2d the upper northern & ye lower southern are sown with one bushell of Harmony wheat the upper southern with 3 Pecks from Cooper & ye lower northern wth half a bush: from Skinner part of this was Hoed in, the rest Harrowed once in a place & hoed round ye stumps. We have dug a Tank six feet deep & six feet over & used all the Stone we had quarried in walling it up. We have removed the Smoke House & set it up by the kitchen, & finished ye Cellar Steps & Back Porch. I have reced a Letter from my brother Charles dated June 23 & by the mail & another from him & one from Wm. Monger both of the date of last April brot. to America by Mr. Wheeler & delivered to me by Mr. Grace. Pigeons still continue flying abt. in immense Flocks. The Trees are just beginning to change.

Octr. 6th to 20th

Fine weather till ye 18th when a very heavy rain commenced which last almost without intermission untill the Evening of ye 20th We had completed the Tank before the rain which filled it to the height of 7 ft. altho it only received the water from one side of ye House & holds about 2000 Galls. bot. 4 Hogs more of Hartley for \$4 which with other 4 we got home by the 22d when 4 of them were put up to

fatten. I have purchased 20 Sheep wth a Bell of Wm. Grange for \$46 which if I do not receive a remittance in time he will take in a bill upon England. Mr. & Mrs. Hebert intending to leave this for the Eastern States have sold me their Furniture & several other things which I had fetched away, but being dissappointed in a stage of water to go up the purpose remaining here the winter

The Pigeons have left this part of the Country Bucks are now running.

Octr. 20th to Novr. 3d

Fine weather with rain every three or four days. Employed in moving the stable & other jobs. built a chimney

Novr. 3 to 17th

Weather as before. Employd in mudding the chimney at the stable &c Old Cow fetched Home on 27th

1822 Novr. 17 to Decr. 1

Heavy fall of snow wth sharp Frost on Saturday. Snows lays abt 4 In: deep this mornng Wrote to my Brother Charles on Nov 24 sent Maxwells note for \$106 wth. Mr. Millards & Mr. B. Stevensons letters, to Mr. Birkbeck Mr Hartley left us for Bonpas on his way to England by New Orleans Sent the watch wth. an order for \$8550 on my Brother Charles by him also a letter fr: Robert to his Aunt Sally & a letter to Mr. Tothil he also promised to call on A: Thomson, Stevenson, Palmer, Barron & Yeend & let them know how we were I had of Hartley for ye 8550 A Horse wth Saddle, Bridle, & Plough Gears, 12 Store Hogs,⁸ 3 Sows, 7 Pigs & a Boar, 40 Bushels of Corn, a Prong, 220 lb of beef & I paid him \$3.50 on Acct. of A: Penfold. We reckoned [up] the population of Wanbourough on Decr 1 to be 68 persons exclusive of Mr. Birkbecks, of Albion 170 excluding Mr. Flowers, of the surrounding neighbourhood, English,

⁸ Pigs between the age of six and ten months (Joseph Wright, ed.), *The English Dialect Dictionary*, V: 789.

Burkes, Burnt, Village, & Long Prairies 522 total 760 we had only our own knowledge to guide us & most likely omitted several Families

Decr. 1st. to 8th

Frost continues, on Monday night Thermom. 12 below Zero. this seems very low but I find by the Annual Register for 1776 that it was in that Year 32 below Freezing or at Zero in England we experienced no particular inconvenience from it. We were employed chiefly in cutting up Girdled Trees & hauling in ye wood. Jas. Huston met his death on Saturday Evening. Hartleys 2 Sows & 7 pigs with 6 Stores brot. home on Wednesday

Decr 8th to 15

Frost continued until Wednesday when the Snow gradually dissappeared without rain Thursday & Friday were fine mild days when I dug a trench & put in my Turnips a very heavy rain fell on Friday night the next morning was very cold & the ground slightly sprinkled wth Snow J: Tribe & J: May sawed 5 planks this week. We have been employed in fixing bars & fencing the Yard. one of the fatting Hogs Killed this Wk Wt. 110 lb

Decr. 15 to 22d. 1822

Weather very wet with frost & rime upon the whole a most unplesant week Tom employed abt the Hearth & Floor in the north room myself & the Boys have scarcely done any thing the weather being so bad. A Sow pigged 5 pigs another may be expected to pig the beginning of April abt. ye 5th. J: Tribe killed the Cow for us on Thursday She turned out very fat & weighed abt 410 lb The Skin weighed 50 lb was sold to Mr. Ronalds for \$2.50 which is the first return I have received. Mrs. Pritchard had 50 & Mrs Spring 23. lbs of Beef

22 to 29th & Jany 1st 1823

Weather frosty. Very little done this week only some girdled timber cut up. Mr & Mrs. Hebert came & spent their Xtmaz week wth. us they have given up their intention of going to England having joined Dr. Pugsley & W: Orange in taking Burkitts distillery which he has let them for $5\frac{1}{2}$ years at \$500. A

Jany 1st to ye 5th 1823

A Thaw commenced on Thursday

Spent a very pleasant Evening at the Miscellany Meeting at Mr. Birkbecks on New Years day

Jany 5 to 12th

Frosty. Sons cutting Trees for Rails, Tom at ye Bench. Reced a letter from my brother Robert dated Sepr. 5th. Paid Mr Birkbeck for the carriage, Warehousing &c of my Box to Shawnee it was charged at the measurement of lb 156

12th to 19

Fine weather the beginning of the week wet on Saturday Mrs Hustons sale. had our Prarie Frolic on Wednesday there were Ten Axes & on Thursday we set fire to the Prarie, but the afternoon proving wet it was imperfectly burnt. Reced a letter from George Lancaster,

19th to 26

Dull weather. Answered Lancasters let Boys busy splitting rails Tom making a table reced a letter from A: T. Thomson dated

January 26th to Febry. 2—1823

This has been a fine week. The Boys & myself have been busy splitting Rails. They have been hindered two days at Stapletons, & Woodlands Corn huskings. Tom has been busy at the Bench. We have also at last got the Box from

Shawnee where it has lain since Decr. 7th. it contained various Articles of cloathing & letters from Mr. & Mrs. Stevenson, Mrs. A. Thomson, & Sally they were dated June last. Thomas wrote to his Brother Charles.

Feby 2 to 9th

Very cold week, the ground covered with snow no work of any kind has been done either by Thomas or the boys.

Feby 9th to 16

Cold weather still continues & snow still covers the ground Ankle deep Therm. has been °14 below Zero this week. Very little work has been done

Feby 16th to 23

Frost continued till Thursday when a Thaw came on & I hope this will [be] the last spell of Winter we shall have this year. it has been much the longest & coldest I have known since I have been in the Country We have been employed the latter end of this week clearing ground for ploughing, & have made a sleigh the runners of which were sawed out by J. Tribe on Thursday

Feby 23 to Mar 2

We have had some more cold weather with snow. Sons busy clearing of the wood, Tom employed indoors. Reced a letter from my Brother dated Novr. 6

Mar 2 to 9th

Some Frost & Wet Days. Employed in raising the Cow House. John Tribe has been Days sawing Plank, & slitting a Hickory Pole for Cow yoke. Betsey wrote to Sally

9 to 16

One very wet Day. Busy Gardening, dug round the middle northern square & planted the north side with english

seedling Apples, sowed Onions, Carrots & Parsnips. Tom went to Hinde & Knights Mills Mar 16th.

Mar 16 to 23

Very wet week a very heavy fall of snow on Tuesday at the Mill all day on Saturday.

23 to 30

One or two fine days, planted the Early Pea No. 1, Charlton No. 2, Sanspareil No. 3, No. 4 name unknown. Recd a Letter fr: J: Marter.

30th to April: 6

Some very wet days. had a Rail Malling on Tuesday between 6 & 700 Split, Recd \$1 for a Heifers Hide. planted the north side of the upper & lower northern Squares wth English pip Apples, The first Apple Tree in the north front border is a graft from Mr. Birkbeck, the next 5 are grafted wth New York Pippins, the 7th is a bud from Harmony, the 8th Vevay, No. 1 or Morcrods *Red Flatter* a Fall Apple, 9th fr: Mr. Bs. 10th & 11th Vevay No. 1, 12 Mr Bs., 13th Army. bud, 14th & 15 Vevay No. 2 or *Sunnettons*, a winter Apple, 16th., 17th & 18th, Vevay No. 4 or *Vandivers*, a winter Apple, 19th & 20th Army Graft 21st Vevay No. 4, 22d Army bud 23 Do Graft remainder of the Border Pips fr: Longdown

The first Apple Tree in the south Front border is Vevay No. 4 the next is a Harmony bud, the next 5 are Vevay No. 4, the 8th & 9th are Harmony buds, the 10th & 11th are Vevay No. 5 or *Romanite*, a winter Apple, 12 Army bud, 13th, 14th & 15th, Vevay No. 5, 16th Mr. Birkbeck, 17th & 18th Vevay No. 5, 19th. & 20th. Harmony Grafts, 21st. a pip fr Longdown 22 Vevay No. 5, 23 Vevay No. 4, remainder of the row Pips fr Longdown The first Cross borders are Grafted with Harmony Grafts from Th. Espalier

April 6 to 12th

Tolerably fine week. got in the remainder of my Peas, & planted some French Beans.

sent a letter to Mrs. A: Thomson & another to Mr. Mayd by Mr. Graham. N:B: 200 lb of meal lasts us 21 days We are 10 besides chickens

12 to [19]20

Some very wet Days. Sowed the Oats in the Paddock & had 5 pints of Timothy, for which I owe him at the rate of \$5 pr. bush: Spent a very pleasant Evening at his house in company wth Mr. Connor from Prairie De Rocher who has been settled in & near that 19 years it at 13 miles from Kaskaskia & 100 fr: this, situated on the American Bottom so celebrated for its fertile Soil. Mr. C: informed me he did not believe their Corn ever averaged more than 50 bush pr A: he himself gathered 630 bush. from a Field of 12 *Measured* Acres which he thought as good a Crop as any in that Neighbourhood, the produce of wheat when sowed among Corn is from 15 to 20 bus pr A. when sown upon Fallow it is frequently 40 b: pr. A: the wheat generally of excellent quality. The French had long been settled in that neighbourhood & the Common Field has been regularly Cropped without manure for a Century without any perceptible diminution of its fertility. they cultivate a variety of Maize called Stock Corn which is sown upon their wheat stubbles so late as the 10th of July & ripens before the Frost comes. this is very valuable for Cattle, he also told me that Fruit Trees thrive very well, that he had seen Orchards in which many of the Apple Trees were two feet diam. & that he had himself planted an Orchard in 1810 the Trees of which produced Apples to make from 1 to 2 Barrels of Cider each, he does not recollect the Peaches failing generally before 1821, & the present Year, 1823, but considered them as certain a Crop as the Apples, There are abt. 100 slaves in Kaskaskia & abt. 60 Indians the

remains of [of] the Tribe of that Name.

Trees beginning to come out, Prairies green. Heifer calved

1823 April 20 to 27

Some Rain but a fine week. Hauled some Rails wth Springs Oxen, & began putting up the lower Fence in the Garden. Cow calved. Early Peas in blossom

27 to May 4

Planted the Quick Hedge at the bottom of the Garden on Wednesday, the *day* of Sydney Springs, Marriage to Hannah Prichard, We spent the Evening at Mrs. Prichards the Party consisted of Part of 7 Families, C: Trimmer, & Simpson, Total 29 all from England wth the exception of Mr. Pell, it was a mo[st] delightful [Evening] meeting not the least grudge or ill will prevailing in the breast of any person towards any one present, on the contrary I believe any one woud have felt happy in promoting the interest of another of the Party, this is as it shoud be & I hope will prove an earnest of the future Harmony of the life of the new married Couple.

Attended a Baptismal Meeting at Mrs Mound on Sunday, there was a numerous assemblage & about three Hours preaching by Mr. Poole & Mr. Rote. the discourse of the first was more connected & solid, that of the other most fervent & Zealous but both were admirably adapted to the manners & habit of their Congregation. the baptism took place after in the village Creek abt $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant from the Place of preaching which was under some Trees near the Cabin the day was remarkably fine & the whole scene most forcibly reminded me of the primitive ages of Christianity the preachers seemed to feel them selves inspired & completely commanded the attention of the people during the whole time.

Mr. & Mrs. Hebert left Albion for the Eastern States I

wrote to Mr I: Vaughan by them & Betsey sent a letter to my Sister, two Sheep died this week Sainfoin in bloom

May 4 to 11th

Some heavy thunder Storms, we have planted the lower Northern Square wth. Corn & been busy hauling rails with Springs Oxen.

11 to 18

Heavy rain occasionally. Busy putting up the Fence & clearing ground for ploughing.

May 18th to 25th 1823

Weather much the same. Busy ploughing & getting ready for Corn planting. Early peas fit to gather. We have been much assisted by the loan of Springs Oxen.

25 to June 1st

Not quite so showery. Planted abt. 5 A: on Saturday. Thos. Ayres came back. Sheared our Sheep they averaged hardly 2 lb's of wool, each. We have not had good luck with them having 15 left of the 20 & only two lambs. we had two lambs carried off on Wednesday the night of the Miscellany meeting, but when I consider the state in which they were when I bought them, the manner in which they were wintered, & the badness of our conveniences & attendance it is matter of surprise that we have not lost more, with attention I have little doubt of their answering better than any other stock. Mr. Hartleys Friend Brady came to the settlement on [Wednesday] Monday he spent the Evening of the meeting at Mr. Birkbecks & went to Shawnee for his family next morning. We have had 26 lbs of of bacon of Mrs Spring at 8 Cts. Reced a letter from my Brother Charles informing me of his having sent a box by Capt'n. Robinson, & another letter from Wm. Thomson. N:B we had since two more parcels of Bacon from Spring one of which weighed 19 lbs the other

1823 June 1st to 7th

Mr. Birkbeck, Mr. Clark & C: Trimmer dined with us.

T: Ayers left us

Wrote to J: Marter

7th. to 14th

Mr Trimmer & Simpson left this Settlement. Mr T: took a packet of letters for me, to Ewell, to Stevenson, & to A: T: I also gave him a letter to Mr. Griffith.

14th to 21st

21st to 28th

Planted the Corn in the last new ground.

June 28th. to July 6th

Thunder storms frequent. Spent the 4th of July in a picnic to the little Wabash with my boys, Henry & John Spring & Mr. Clark, two sons Charles & Joseph, to the Casting net but the Water was so high we were able to make but little use of it. however we caught some small fish & I have no doubt it will answer well when the water is low. Reaped our wheat.

6th to 13th

Fine week. Busy Ploughing & hoeing Corn. harvested the Imperial & [Marrowfat] Prussian Peas. Received a letter from David Logan informing me of the arrival of a Trunk directed for me at his warehouse at Pittsburgh. had 48 lbs of Beef fr: Spring at 3 Cts.

13th to 20th

Wrote to David Logan with a draft for \$10 on Warder & Brothers which I had from Mr. Clark \$5 of which are to be sent to Shawnee in Harrow tines I also gave Mr C: a Bill upon my Brother Charles for \$160 at 21 days Sight, harvested the marrowfat Peas

July 20 to 27

Cut the first melons.

July 27 to Aug 3d

Sowed the Buck Wheat. Went again to the River with Mr Clark, his boys & mine. I had no luck with the net altho the water was low, the bottom being very foul. Melons very abundant & good.

Augst. 3d to 10th

Weather

Employ'd Hoeing Corn

Manured the 4 first Vines in the two lower north rows with Chicken dung, a full shovelful was given to each plant on the surface not covered in

10th to 17th

Sowed the Turnips at the bottom of the Garden.

17 to 24th

Fine week. finished hoeing our late Corn. our whole Crop is now tolerably clean.

24th to 31st

Weather fine, a heavy shower on Thursday morn

The wheat in the south west & N.E. produced 8 bushels from 120 Rods. Quality good but foul wth cheat nevertheless the Flour was good. Went again to the river fishing with Mr. Clark's Family, two of the Miss Pritchards, Mr. & Mrs Spring, Mr Hearsum & 3 more gentlemen. No sport wth the net but plenty of fish were caught by angling

31st. to Sepr. 7th

Fine week. heavy rain on Saturday. Spent the Eveng on Monday at Mr Hanks's. Miscellany Meeting at Mr Birkbeck's on Tuesday. Sowed the wheat. the ground very dry and dusty. Quantity of wheat sown 2 bush: 3 Pecks or

2 8/10 A: of Ground, it was sown among Corn & hoed in between the rows. Our melons are still very fine & plentiful

Sepr. 7 to 14th

Heavy rain on Thursday the first day of the camp meeting which lasted till Monday Mr & Mrs. Clark stayed with us during its continuance & as well as ourselves were much gratified in hearing the discourses delivered by the three Preachers, Messrs. Poole, Wasson & Rote. Their doctrine was truly Christian & the language & delivery perfectly adapted to ye audience to whom it was addressed. Many extravagances prevailed during the intervals of the preaching, particularly among the Females: called here jerking,⁹ it appears to be similar to hysteric affection. several were so much exhausted by these exertions as to fall to the ground apparently lifeless & were conveyed to the shade by the bystanders it was a most confused scene of praying, singing jumping, & shouting, & shaking hands, & I think can answer no good purpose except collecting a larger Congregation to hear the Preachers.

Sepr 14 to 21

Fine week. finished thrashing out the wheat. that from Harmony was very good & clean. West had 2 bush: for seed, Mrs. Pritchard 1 bush & Spring & 2 B: 3 P we sowed ourselves making in the whole fr: Rods as short crop but much was consumed by the Fowls. Observed the natural Objects sounds which strike the senses in this Country on the 21st. the Autumnal Equinox in order to form the subject of a letter to A: T: they were

Morning—Slight Frost, Sunrise, Perfect Stillness, save the tapping of the Woodpecker, & now & then the fall of an Acorn or Hickory Nut. The glistening of the various Flowers brilliant with dew in the Sunbeams. those in bloom were,

⁹ The "jerks" was a common manifestation of religious fervor during revival meetings of this period.

a white Flowers growing in bunches in the Woods, A beautiful kind of sun flower & several other yellow Flowers, Golden Rod, Michaelmas Daisy, several kinds of purple Flowers, Hops, & Vines covering the tops of fallen Trees the Fruit hanging on them but [not perceptible till] hidden by the leaves. the leaves of the Shumach beginning to turn red & those of the Sassafras changing to Yellow, Hazle Nuts. Air much colder when I got into the Prairie. Smoke arising from my neighbours chimney among the tall Trees: View of my own Cabin from the opposite side of the Prairie, sun beams striking on the Trunks of the Oaks at the back of it. Birds crossing the Sunbeams. Ther: was 40. My clothing Slippers thin trowsers, Flannel Jacket, Straw Hat.

Noon. Cloudless sky. Gentle breeze nestling among the tops of the Trees, Hum of Bees & Insects, sporting & chirping of Grasshoppers, A few Butterflies colours much more sober, noise & gaudy plumage of birds, shadow of the Turkey buzzards, Ther: 60.

Evening. Sky cloudless. Flights of Pigeons on the tops of Oaks showering down Acorns to the Hogs below. Squirrels. Grotesque appearance of burnt stumps Confusion of Fallen Trees, covered in place with Vines Sapling bent into arches wind Still, fine appearance of the setting sun.

Sepr. 21st to 27th

Fine. Pulling Fodder, pulled 504 bundles from the A: 2 8/10 on which the wheat is sown. A White Frost cut up the blades in the prairie ground on Monday, & Tuesday, & also the buck wheat as far as the upper square. We have eat a few tolerable melons this week but they now be said to be "over."

Sepr. 27th to Octr. 5th

Fine weather, began cutting Fodder.

Octr. 5th. to 12th

Delightfull Weather, Stacking Fodder.

Autumnal tints very fine

12th to 19th

Sent the first grist of new Corn to mill

19th. to 26

Boys helping Spring get in his Corn, leaves fast falling.

26 to Novr. 2

Getting in our Corn, Henry Spring helping us. Measured the Crib. Contents 408 Cubic ft. equal to 330 Winchester bushels. John Sheridan and his nephew came here Nov 2

Novr. 2 to ye 8 & 16th

Dined at Mr. Clark's & Monday ye 9th being wet did not return till Tuesday. Received the Trunk from Shawnee pr. Hogan to whom I pd 1''26 for carriage Our Cows came home it contained letters from Miss Campbell, Mrs Harrison, Stevenson, Yeend & my sister, some Filberts, Walnuts, Holly berries, Almond, Apricot & Peach, which were planted this week. Some Apple pips were planted with them in case they shoud not come up. Some Quince & Pear pips were also sown. Sowed Parsnips, Onions, & Lettuce, all in the trenched ground. The Boy J: Gallagher went to J: Spring.

Novr. 16th. to 23d

Have buried our Turnips, pruned & covered up the vines & buried the cuttings. Sheridan left us on Saturday. I found him very useful in helping me in the trenching &c the Carrots were sown this week. All the seeds were sown in drills 18 In apart, wth. a row of Lettuce sown between each. A sow or two may be expected to pig abt. the middle of March. finished the cellar drain,. J: Coopers beef wighed 107 lb at 3 Cts.

Novr 23; to 30;th

Thomas Cooper cam to the settlement on Saturday, wrote Ewell ye 30th. planted a row of potatoes by way of Experiment a trench was dug a spit deep the potatoes planted whole covered with dung & covered wth earth in the form of a ridge.

Novr 30 to Decr. 7—1823

Weather mild till the Night of the 6th when snow fell & covered the ground. I this week sowed a double row of Early Peas & planted five Espalier Apples (Harmony) in the upper part of the south border. The Ground was prepared in the following manner, the top spit was thrown out of a trench 2 ft. wide the bottom was then dug a full spit deep & part of the top earth returned upon it some yard dung was then laid on [the] & covered up with the remainder of the top earth. the places where the trees were planted were prepared in the same manner 2 ft. square outside the Trench.

Reced a Quarter of Beef from J: Spring The fore Qrs. weighed 233 lb. the hind 180 lb total 413 lbs at 2 cts. is \$8''26. Wrote To J: Marter.

Decr. 7 to 14th to 21st

Heavy fall of snow on Thursday ye 11th which covered the Ground till the Tuesday following. We lost two Ewes in the paddock, killed by wolves. Two Hogs killed wt 210 a quarter of beef from Spring Wt.

21st to 28th to Jay 1—1824

Weather open till the 24th when a sharp Frost commenced which lasted till ye 26th Jas. Sheridan & his brother Owen, came hither. 2 Hogs killed on the 30th Wt. 181 lb Reced a letter from Hartley—for which I owe Mr Pell

1824 Jany 1st. to ye 11th

Weather open with heavy rain. Miscellany meeting at Mr Birkbecks on ye 1st. a very pleasant Evening. Employed

Splitting Rails & grubbing—Jas. Sheridan helped us occasionally, Owen worked regularly with us. we began grubbing the upper enclosure on Saturday ye 3rd continued at it ye 3 first days of the succeeding week.

four Hogs killed Wt. 420 lbs. Sent two letters by Mr Grutt who was going to Philada. One of them to Hartley in which I mentioned Tom's Offer of \$3 pr A: for all the uncultivated land south of the first hollow from his south fence, the other to Mr Everest this was a double letter & directed to my brother Charles to whom I also wrote a few lines informing him of Toms intention. bot. 25 bush of Corn of Lynch at 25 Cents, pd. Grutt \$1 $\frac{1}{2}$ for self & Mrs P:

11th to 18 to 25

Weather fine. We have been grubbing & burning. it takes 30 good day work to grub Acres Lynch brot in his Corn, for which I paid him 675 borow'd \$10 of Mr Clark for which he holds my note.

Jany 25th. to Feby 1—to 8th

Weather fine & mild until Friday when a severe frost commenced which lasted till Saturday ye 7 Snow fell on Tuesday ye 3d Therm: has been as low as 6 below Zero. My wife & self were present at the marriage of Sarah Prichard to David Hearsom on Thursday ye 5th & spent a very pleasant Evening. Boy commenced clearing the ground north of the garden. Owen Sheridan assisted them & is to have one third of the produce of all the new ground they can get into Cultivation. My Peach blossom has been destroyed in the bud by the severity of the late Frost Mr Clarks do not appear injured, [last] the season before it was destroyed throughout this state by a severe Frost which succeeding immediately after rain, glazed the twiggs with Ice & killed the blossom in embryo so early as the 21st Decr. 1822. The year before there were plenty of Peaches altho' the Frost in February was quite as severe as this year. & very sharp Frosts occured when

the trees were out in bloom. In 1821 they were destroyed throughout the state by a Frost in ye middle of March.

Feby 8th, to 15

Very mild till Wednesday when sharp frost succeeded very heavy rain. Went to Albion on Monday & Tuesday & got Cash of Churchill & his note for 38''63 at 2 months for Mr Clarks bill on Warders for the proceeds of Betseys draft on Col: Campbell for £25—which produced \$117 at Philad. & \$2. I get premium of Churchill. I paid his bill up to Feby 10th \$6.62. Dr. Pugsleys \$2.75. Penfolds \$2.50 Mr Clark \$20 which is all I owed him (sent by his Son Charles) G: Woodham \$2. Brown \$2.50. Hine \$13''00 \$1''18 ½ of which was for Mr. Emmerson to whom I am now indebted \$3''81 ½ which he has agreed to take out in Wool I also paid my taxes for 1823 \$1''35 & Hartleys \$2.40 both in state money. I paid H: Huston \$725 which overpaid him 7 Cents. Paid J: Spring \$10 & owe him \$8.

Feby 15 to 24 to Mar 1st

A fine week but the Ground covered wth snow on the 24th The Boys have been busy in the wood. Betsey went to Mrs. Wilsons where she laid out \$9 & settled the Bill. Mrs Cannans sale on Saturday where I lent G: Wilson 50 Cts. & Bot. 25 bush of Corn of Bailey to be delivered at 25/ Wm.'s sow & perhaps one of ye young ones may be expected to pig ye 15th of June. A sow pigged 4 on ye 20th Feby The first lamb fell on ye 24th. very rough Weather. Bob got \$15 on Churchills note.

Mar 1 to 7

Warm weather succeeded by Frost. Baileys failure in bringing in his Corn, put us to some inconvenience in buying again, we however bot. 35 bus of B: Burkes & borrowed Springs Oxen & Waggon to haul it home which was done on Friday a thorough wet day & I paid Burkes \$8.75 for it

[this] I think I shall never more have any dealing with Bailey. dug up the angles of the N. Fence

Mar 7 to 14th

Fine weather with showers. Another sow pigged 7 but having been let out of the paddock where we had some time kept her up, farrowed in the range & the other with the 4 piggs laid up with her. Bob & Owen went on Wednesday evening to bring them up but not doing it the wolves destroyed all the 11 pigs in the night, & our expectations from them are disappointed. Replanted the Peas (which were put in Decr. & had been killed by the Frost) on Tuesday, planted the Currants & sowed a bed of Onions, paid McCracken for 120 lb of Pork at $2\frac{1}{2}$, \$3.—Reced the bal. of Churchils Note. Bob bot. a Horse of Dr Pugsley for \$30 payable in 6 months. Sow killed one of the Lambs. Tom raised his Cabin on Monday.

14 to 21

Boy busy clearing. We had a rail malling abt. 15 came & splitt 600 rails they woud have made up 1000 but the afternoon proved wet I have been busy planting out Apples.

21st 28th

Boys busy as before. Tom & J: Tribe came to help me in putting up the fence across the Porch & Tom & I laid the slabs on Tuesday & Wednesday I was afterwards employed putting up the worm fence at the Peach Orchard & in planting the vacant spaces with new trees, & in planting Apples the sows may perhaps pig again abt. the middle of July. Mr. Clark & Mr Pell went to Harmony & brot. me

reced a packet of Letters by J: Cooper who had not been able to get his Box forward before Mr. Grutt started at last for Philad: he to a Letter for me to Mr. Everest & one to A: Thomson. Sows may be expected to pig abt. the latter end of July.

Mar 28th to April 4th.

Some Cold weather. tips of the Peach blossoms getting red. Sowed 1 bush & 3 Galls Oats in the Garden & put in two quarts of Peas & finished Planting Apples. Reced a letter from my brother Robert, put into the post at Philad: by Charles Ayres & apprising me of the landing of himself his brother James & Tatner. Mr. Clark transferred the 85 Acres of land to me before Mr Pell, whose charge for the transfer was 25 Cts. The Boys have began putting up the fence round the new land.

4th to 11th

Dry weather till Friday night when a considerable quantity of rain fell & also on the night followg Peaches in full bloom, we have a tolerable sprinkling up at the House but none below, I thought the whole had been killed but find myself agreeably mistaken. Dr. Pugsley has sent 20 bush: of Corn to Hines on my acct. for which Robert has paid him \$4''50 10 bush of it has been brot. home. the boys have been busy clearing, Robt. began plough for Oats on Friday I have been employ'd putting in more Peas, & sowing Carrots, Onions, Parsnips, Lettuce & Spinach on the trenched ground where I sowed some in the fall which does not appear to answer here. the mild weather in the first part of winter caused the seeds to vegetate & they were all killed by the Frost in February. I have also tied most of the Espaliers. Spring brot. me abt. 4 bush of Oats for which I am to give him some of my Georgion next spring, paid him his balance

1824 11th to 18 April

Fine week abt. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ A: Oats down. Boys busy clearing & hauling rails & putting up fence. I have finished tieng Espaliers & planting Peas, have put in some French Beans & grafted 21 New town Pippins. Peaches beginning to set Wm. shot a Turkey Wt. 22 lb. planted ye first melons.

18 to 25

very heavey rain on Saturday & Sunday. Betsey & myself spent an Eveng at Mr Clarks & returned on Monday. I reced a letter from C: Ayres informing me of his arrival at Pittsburgh & his intention of waiting there for my reply he having been imposed upon by false reports of the health of this settlement. the Boys & Owen have finished putting up the fence there are 300 pannells of it. I have filled up the vacancies in the Vineyard with fresh cuttings. I owe Ronalds 3''78 1/2 for leather. have had 20 bush more of Corn from Dr. Pugsley at 20—— [?] \$4

25 to May 2

Spent Sunday & Mr Springs & returned on Monday Mornng May 3. I have had 20[?] Galls of whiskey of Cooper for which I owe him in addition to ye \$1.3 planted potatoes on Saturday & some more French Beans in the week & Melons in the borders The old Cow Calved. Wrote to Wm. Monger, & to Wm. Thomson. Tom started for Pittsburg on Wednesday

May 2 to 9th

Weather showery. Mrs. Spring spent two days with us. planted our first Corn in the Garden, pulled some of the Vines, planted the first roasting Ears with Pumpkins, Musk Melons & Squash, on Monday. Planted more Melons on Sunday in the borders this is the 3d planting

9th to 16th

Weather showery. planted the remainder of the old ground that was fenced.

16th to 23

Beginning of the week wet. Boy began ploughg in the new cleared ground. Earthed up the Potatoes, & polled the Butter Beans, planted more Melons in the border on Sunday.

23 to 30th

Showery Busy ploughing & clearing

1824 May 30th. to June 6th

Busy ploughing & clearing. Gip Calved on Saturday
20 bush of Corn from Anderson at 25 Cents abt this time

June 6 to 13th

Fine planted the first Corn in ye new Ground on the 8th & 9th & the remainder of the old on the 12th & 14th
Tom came back fr: Pittsburgh on Thursday & brot me a letter fr: Mr. Parr. he left his Brother Charles & his family at Mount Vernon abt. 18 miles fr: Harmony. Tom was but 8 days in his passage fr Shawnee to Pittsburgh by Steam Boat distance 1002 miles, Passage in Cabin \$25. Miscellany Meeting at Mr Clarks on Tuesday spent a very pleasant evening & stopped all night Next meeting the first Tuesday in Octbr at Mrs Pritchards. Our first double row of Peas has afforded us 4 gatherings.

13th to 20th

Some heavy rain. Charles Ayres & family arrived on Friday with our packages they contained letters from M Palmer, Stevenson & my Sister. Reaped[?] ye first week in July. I have written to Ewell & reced a letter from Hartley

June 20th to 27th

finished planting the new ground.

August 2d. Election at Albion

Peaches began to ripen abt. ye middle of July

4th Sowed our Turnips in ye new ground

9th Sowed those in the Garden

12th D: Constable paid us a visit. he left New York last summer, came by the Canal as far as Rochester, walked from thence abt. 50 miles to the head waters of the Musking[h]um, which river he descended in a skiff to Marrietta & came down the Ohio to Evansville arriving at his Brothe

nlaws Mr Purses in November. he remained with us till
 Sunday ye 22d when in company with Mr Clark his son Josh.
 E: Pritchard & myself he left this for Harmony. We walked
 as far as Bonpas & went down to Harmony in a skiff we
 pent Monday at Harmony & he returned with us to Bonpas
 in the skiff on Tuesday. we were 10 hours working up the
 river (a computed distance of 12 Miles.) we stopped Tuesday
 night at Bonpas & on Wednesday morning took our leave
 of him. he returned to Harmony on his way to Mr Purse's
 with the intention of Proceeding with them into the Genessee
 Country where they propose settling near the falls of the
 Genessee River. this Country since the completion of the
 Canal is it appear settling very rapidly. when C: was there
 with his Brother abt. 10 years ago there was but a single
 abin where now [are] is a considerable Town (Rochester)
 with numerous mills & manufactories & a *stand of Hackney*
coaches to convey the Passengers by the canal boats to any
 part of the neighbourhood they wish to go to. The rate of
 passage in some of these boats is a Cent a mile without board,
 with it & excellent accommodation it is 4 Cents. Our trip
 to Harmony was a very pleasant one we visited their Or-
 hard &c. Cotton & Woollen factories, Flocks, Granaries
 barns &c & found every thing very flourishing their wheat
 in particular is most excellent they were thrashing with a
 machine of 8 horse power cleaning apparatus attached at
 abt. the rate of 120 bush pr. day. in frosty weather they said
 they could do double that quantity, the Straw was completely
 cleared & the Grain well cleaned. they sow both Wheat &
 barley after a summer fallow the aver: Crop of the former
 30 bush, of the latter 40, quantity of seed pr. Acre 1 ½ bush:
 or each. a party of 100 of them have left Harmony to es-
 tablish another settlement called Oeconomy¹⁰ on the Ohio
 about 16 miles below Pittsburgh. My expences at Harmony

¹⁰ George Rapp and his followers, the Harmonists, dissatisfied with their Indiana loca-
 tion, moved to Economy, Pennsylvania, in 1825. Here they enjoyed remarkable success in
 industry and agriculture for many years.

were \$1''25 & at Bonpas 50 Cents for a Gall. of Blue Grass & 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ for a Plough line I also ordered 6 bush of Wheat at 62 $\frac{1}{2}$

Augst 29 to Sepr. 12

Pulled 400 bundles of Fodder fr two acres in Garde Melons still very plentiful but not so good [as to] nor so early as last year. Burton fetched the 6 bush of wheat for Harmy:—carriage 1''50 pd. five dollrs. borrowed of Mr Clark for it & owe Burton 50 Cts.

12 to 19th

Betsey & myself spent Sunday at Mrs Wilsons & returned to Mr Clarks on Monday Eveng.

19 to 26

I have reced of Mr Clark \$50 on Toms acct. 10 of which I have had, total of the proceeds of Toms bill for £40 188''90. I owe Charles Ayres \$5 for expences of my package & 1 lb Tea & also for 11 days 4 hours up to Octr. 3.

Octr. 3 to 17

Sowed 6 bush: wheat on 4''2 A on the 12th. reced 1 barrel of whiskey from J: Sheridan on ye 15th and 195 of Beef fr T: Ayres on the 16th. Charles Ayres finished flooring on ye 15th. I now owe him for 7 days 4 hours in addition making 18 days: 8 h: in all towards which he has 2 bush: of Corn 163 lb of beef fr: Spring Wrote to Pittsburgh Novr. 3.

Octr. 17 to 31 to Nov 7

I owe Tom 22''69 up to Novr 1st. finished repairing the Tank on the 3d. I have had \$2 more on Toms Acct fr: Mr Clark.

Nov 7 to 14

Mr Pell left this for New York, Agreed with him to take charge of his nursery on the following terms viz: an acct. of the Present stock to be taken & kept up & the surplus

if any on Mr. Pell's taking it again into his own hands to be equally divided, & also all profits (after deducting labour & expences) accruing in the interim to be shared between us. I have also jointly with Mr Hanks agreed to manage the Vineyard the produce to be divided between him & Myself. Myself, Tom & Chas. were employed in the nursery abt. 2 Hours & the remainder of Saturday Nov 13 in the Vineyard. Sent 3 letters directed to Ewell & 1 to Marys mother from Chas. Ayres by S: Knight who left the settlement for Philad: on Thursdy Nov 11th.

14 to 21st

Chas. Ayres brot. his hog here on the 18th. reced Hartleys rent of J: Cooper on the 20th 90 bush: of Corn. 60 bush: of it was taken to Hindes mill, 28 to T: Ayres & 2 Chas Ayres had, which with 15 bush makes up 19 bush up to Novr. 21st.

21st to 29

C: Ayres began the Chimney. C: Ayres has had 2 bush: of meal fr: Hindes Mill, & I have had 2 bush, making a total of 4 bush up to this date,

Novr. 29 to Decr. 12th

I have had 3 bush more of Meal fr: Hines making 7 bush: in all up to this time, Cha Ayres 3 b more of Corn

12th to 19th

Chas. Ayres & his family removed here on Thursday.

2150 $2\frac{5}{8}$ cubic inches, is equal to 1 bush a box a foot square & 15 in: deep contains 2160 in abt. 1 qr of a pint more. A cubic yard contains 46656 in: equals 21''Bush: 2''P: 1''G: 2''Qts $\frac{1}{2}$ Pt. *Charles Cow came.*

19th to 26

Weather delightful & Mild. Ther: stood at 64 on Xtmas day we had the childrens party on Xtmas Eve 21 sat down to supper & they had a dance after, Boys rabbit hunting in

the Swamp the next day. Went to Albion on Sunday & heard a discourse from Mr Owen on the merits of his plan. the day was so fine that he delivered it in the open air without the least inconvenience from cold. Ch: Ayres labour in all 29''days 6

Decr. 26 to Jan'y 2 1825

We dined at Mr Clarks on Tuesday I stopped till Wednesday when I went to Albion to hear another discourse of Mr Owens. on Sunday we dined at J: Springs. 12 bush of meal has been had fr: Hinds in all viz Ch: Ayres 4 b. Tom 1 b. & myself 7 b. up to this date. Recd a letter fr Mr R Turner.

Jan'y 2 to 9th

Wrote to Mr R: Turner remitting him a draft of Mr Clark's for \$27.40 the amt. of goods purchased on our joint acct. Recd a letter fr: Ewell

9th to 16

16th to 23

Went to Harmony with Mr Clark & Dr. Pugsley on Sunday & returned on Wednesday. Spent our time very pleasantly in the society of Capn. Macdonald & Wm Owen saw good deal of the Property in two long walks which we took on Monday & Tuesday, particularly the Cut off Mill which can do 10 bush: an hour, there were 700 barrels stacked up in it ready for market when we were there. we saw the Oil Mill which is a very neat building for the Country & stands in a romantic situation among the hills. they make 2 Gall of Oil from a bush. of linseed, & 1 Gall. from the same quantity of Pumpkin Seed. abt. half a mile below the Oil Mill is a Saw Mill. they have also a Sugar Camp there. they have abt. 1000 Acres of Land under the plough 80 A: of which are sown with Wheat, 16 with Rye & 16 with Barley we were also at the Distillery where we saw 500 Hogs up fatting The Steam Mill consumes a cord of wood in 4 hours & is abt. 3

Horse Power. they have a fine Stone Quarry just below the Cut off Mill & we were informed they have lime stone in plenty within 10 Miles & Coal on White River under 40 miles water carriage, it is a most eligible property & Mr Owen¹¹ is understood to have bought the whole for \$125,000, & proposes to establish on it a Society founded upon his own Principles, which I understand to be, the united efforts of the whole directed by a Committee of 12 toward the general benefit. This Committee is to be appointed by a majority of votes of the members, 8 by those members who have brot. money into the Concern & 4 by those who have not The Committee will [rule] divide itself into Sub Committees to superintend the different branches of the establishment The Education of the Children which will commence as early as two years old will be most particularly attended to & is intended to be conducted under an entire new system without *Praise*, or *Blame*, *Reward* or *Punishment*, & thus minds are to be from infancy directed to look with pity on the failings & imperfections of others & to seek their enjoyment not in their individual gratification but in the general happiness of society. While at Harmony I made particular enquiry regarding the management & manufacture of wine & from all I can learn a proportion of Saccharum is necessary what that proportion shoud be must be regulated by the sweetness of the must. Mr. Adlums Method of ascertaining it is as follows, he weighed two ounces averdupois of rain water at 60. in a two ounce vial (balanced exactly wth shott in the opposite scale) & made a mark round the vial with a file at the place to which the water reached he afterwards filled the vial up to this mark with a mixture of sugar diluted in water at the rate of 3 lbs to the Gall: this he found to weigh 2 oz 109 Grains & this gravity of 984 Gr: he looks upon as

¹¹ Robert Owen (1771-1858), British reformer, bought the 30,000-acre estate of the Harmonists in 1824. Though the community prospered at first, the diverse elements of which its population consisted soon quarreled and split up into separate communities. After putting about \$200,000 into the project, Owen abandoned it in 1828.

the least portion of saccharine matter requisite to preserve wine for an indefinite length of time. N:B: his sugar was double refined, he afterwards measured the gravity of his Musts in the same manner & the heaviest to weigh 938 grains & the lightest 906. to make the gravity of the first equal to that of 984 will require $[11\frac{1}{2} \text{ oz: } 6\frac{3}{4}]$ to the Gall: $6\frac{3}{4}$ oz of sugar, & $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz of the other

Jany 23 to 30th to Feby 6

Wrote to My Brother Charles & Betsey wrote to Miss Murray. Cold week but fine

Feby 6 to 13

Gave Mr Clark a bill upon my Brother Charles dated Mar. 1st for £30. I have reced \$77.79 of him on acct of it in which is included \$6 the bal: of Toms bill I now have had \$30.69 of Toms in the whole & I am responsible for \$ to Cooper. Rode to Albion on Saturday & paid Johnson \$1''25 for my taxes & Hartleys & \$1 for steeling an axe, Paid Jesse Brown, (by Mr Woods) 75 Cts. for affixing the County Seal to Mr Clarks Transfer, paid Mr Ronalds (by Mrs Cooper) \$3.75 for Leather, paid G: Woodham 25 Cts. in bal: of his Acct. & gave T: Ayres \$2. I now stand indebted to him \$28''69. Sent a Letter by him to W: Owen at Harmony. no sawing done this week it being very wet. N:B: Mr. A: is in error regarding the quantity of sugar his lightest Must will require 34 oz. & the other $20\frac{1}{4}$ to bring it to the gravity of 984

1825 Feby. 13 to 20th

Fine Week. J: Tribe & Wm. sawing every day. Wrote to Mr. Marshall enclosing the papers regarding the Land & a draft for the balance due at ye office. Spring 2 barr. Oats

20th to 27th

Wet Week. no sawing. Reced a Hog from Jeff: Hunt. wt. 170. at \$2 equals \$3.70 Chas. Ayres had 86 lb of it, also

13 lb of Beef from 57 lb which I had from Spring. Charles also had 50 lb of Salt.

Feby 27th. to Mar 6

Chas. Ayres removed to Wanbr'o. Reced a letter from Mr Marshall enclosing a receipt from the land office for \$32''24 the bal: due on my land. put in the first Peas on Saturday.

Mar 6 to 13th

At Mr Clarks raising his Barn on Friday Peach blossoms getting red.

13th. to 20th

Assisted in planting out some fruit Trees from Cincinatti in Mr Pells Orchard the 2d row for the nursery fence contains 4 Apples (Lables wanting) 2 Italian Damson Plums, 2 Plums (unknown) 2 Plums (Do) 1 Pear (Gansels Bergamot) 1 Do (Merveille DHyver) 1 Do (unknown) The 3d row contains 1 Apple (Monstrous Pippin) 2 Do (unknown) 1 Do (Wine Sap) 6 Plums 2 Pears (Swans Egg) 1 (Ardelia or Pound Pear) 5th Row contains 1 Apple (Rhode Island Greening) 3 Apples (unknown) remainder of the Row made up from the nursery. Had a rail malling abt. 800 rails splitt. Peaches in blossom.

20th to 27

Gave my Note at 12 months for \$100 to Mr Pell dated Mar 21st. the consideration being 2 yoke of Oxen & a Waggon with a verbal agreement from Mr Robinson to fill the fore wheels with wood when required. Peaches in full bloom

I have had at 2 ½ of Pork fr: R: Lane, Chas Ayres had 186 lbs of it

27th to Apr: 3d

Mr Pell & family left this for New York. Mr Birkbeck holds a Memorandum of agreement between Mr Pell & myself stating I have taken the nursery of Mr Pell for 5 years

by virtue of which he is to receive one half of the *clear* proceeds of the nursery. annexed is a list of the present stock which I am to leave at the expiration of the term

Chas Ayres has had of Mr Ronalds, Leather \$5''60 ½

1825 April 3 to 10th

Sowed the first of my english Barley

10th to 17th

Sowed the Oats, planted ye first Potatoes.

17 to 24th

Went to Harmony, Betsey also went with Mr & Mrs Hearsom. heard Mr Owens lecture on the establishment of his intended preliminary Society which will be preparatory to one to be formed upon his new plan. There is due to T Ayres from me on bal: of Accts Apr 30th. 1825. \$23 & I am accountable to Wm. Knight \$130: to T: Hines \$6. to J Tribe 8''81 ½ to J: Binnett \$3''50. to Simpkins 1''31 ¼ to Coope 31''26 in all \$180''88 on acct of which I have reced his bill for £37''10 on my Brother Charles.

May 2—1825 I have this day settled all accts. with Wm Knight & given him a note at 4 months sight for \$261 [with or the choice of a Bill on England for the amt. in sterling money whenever he chooses to call on me for it.

May 1 to 8th

May 8 to 15st

1825 May 15th. to 21st to 28

Went to Harmony with Mr. Clark stopped at Bonpa on Friday night & returned to breakfast there on the follow in[g] Tuesday. had much conversation with Mr Owen & spent our time very pleasantly

28th to June 4

Miss Ronalds left this for England She took letters from us to our Friends in England one from me to my brother Robert one from Betsey to Sally & two for Charles Ayres

[Mr Birk] Wrote also to my Brother Charles by mail Mr Birkbeck went to Harmony & took a packet of letters from us to Mr Owen [cont] who being on the eve of his departure for England had kindly promised me to deliver them they were one to my Brother Charles, one from Betsey to Miss Campbell in Edingburgh & another to her sister Mrs Reddy in Glasgow. On Friday happened the melancholy Catastrophe of Mr Birkbecks death who was drowned in Fox River on his return from Harmony. On his arriving at Fox River with his third Son, (Bradford) they found the Flat in which they expected to be ferried over had been taken away & entered the water on their Horses with the intention of Swimming over. Bradfords Horse plunged & threw him in the water being a good Swimmer he atho' incumbered with a great coat & very weak from recent illness had nearly reached the opposite shore when he heard his Fathers voice calling for assistance & turning himself round saw him struggling in the middle of the stream & returned to his assistance. upon reaching him his Father caught hold of him & they both sunk together upon rising again he desi his Father to take hold of his coat in another place which he did & both sunk again but Bradford alone rose & throwing himself upon his Back he floated & quite exhausted reached the Bank where after some time his cries brot. a person to his assistance who endeavoured to recover the Body of his Father but in vain. it was not found till the day following when it was brought up with an Umbrella firmly grasped in the right hand. Mr Birkbecks Horse was also drowned but Bradfords got safe over. [Mr] The Body of Mr Birkbeck was interred at Harmony with every attention that could be paid to his memory by Mr Owen & the people there. My two sons & several of the young men from our settlement were present. Thus perished Morris Birkbeck at the age of 62 A Man of whom it may truly be said "that take him for all in all we shall not see his like again"

July 10. Budded some Peaches with Cincinnati Buds at the lower End of the south Border

24th. Budded the Peaches again that had failed & 3 Wild Cherry Stocks & 1 Plum with the Biggareau Cherry, also two stocks in the Peach Orchard with it. Budded the Apple Trees in the south fence the two first Budded Trees are Early Juniata, the two next St. Germain Pears, the next two Spitzenberg Apple, then two [Brown Beurre] Merveille D'Hyver, then two Newtown Pippin, then two Br: Beurre P then two Newtown Pippin, then two Storeys Fa[vo]rite

1825 July 24th. At a meeting held at my House six of us constituted ourselves into a Society to be styled the Warrington Joint Stock Society. Myself, A: Emmerson, & C Ayres were appointed to form a Committee & I was appointed Secretary & Treasurer Augst. 3d. Betsey recd a Letter from Miss Murray enclosing a 50£ Bill.

Augst. 13th. Betsey wrote to Miss Murray. Four ploughs in Bonsleys Lot ploughing for wheat. Ther: 99 in the shade. Weather exceedingly dry & hot. Went to Village Creek wth D: Hearsom & A: Emmerson to assist in taking the Level of a section of the Creek which was said to offer a sufficient fall for a saw mill Hearsom found the descent was only 8 ½ In: in 130 yards. Our earliest Peaches began to ripen 3 weeks ago, we now have plenty. The level of the Garden Walk was taken & the descent from the Porch floor to the lower Fence found to be 25 ft. 6 In.. 1825

Augst. 19. All Accounts between Mr Clark & myself are settled up to this day. Charles Clark left this for England Wrote to Mr Hebert by him Betsey wrote to Aunt Sally & Jessy to Frances Manning.

Augst. 20th. It was agreed at a meeting of the Society that myself, A Emmerson, & Wm. Woodlands should be appointed to value the stock of the members & that at the valuation of either of our own stock A: McWhorter should be called in in place of that one of us whose stock should be

under valuation. It was also agreed that the Land under Cultivation should be valued at \$6. & the uninclosed Land at \$2 pr. Acre.

Monday Augst. 22d. The Wanbro mill was given possession of to myself, A: Emmerson, & Chas Ayres by T: Hine. A Valuation of the stock of T: Hine was taken by B: Walker & B: Dorrettry. Walker also pronounced three of the Steers given up by Hine in lieu of W: Knights to be equal in goodness to those given up to Hine when he took the mill & the fourth to be at least as good as any of the others. One Steer of W Knights he (Walker) had not seen when Hine took the mill.

Sowed the first Turnips on Saturday Augst. 20th.
Borrowed \$ Thirty dollars of Mr Clark.

1825—Sepr. 10th

Took Toms bill 37''10 & Miss Murrays £50 & gave them to Mr Clark who settled my bill of \$261 with Wm Knight & is indebted to me \$118.80 in bal: of Acct.

Sepr. 16, wrote to Charles & the same post brot me a letter fr him & Robert. And also one from Jno. Marter to which I replied on the 23d. A Mr Monroe fr. Geneva, & a Mr Dudley from England have paid us a visit. Sepr. 24 Reced \$50 of Mr Clark, which was thus disposed of \$13.81 $\frac{1}{4}$, to Harris to Churchill, Self \$5.47 $\frac{1}{2}$ to Do for Society \$2.17 $\frac{1}{2}$, to Do. taxes, W Knight \$1.45, Hartleys \$1.35 to Hearsurn for \$5 state money \$2.25 \$ T: Lane \$23.

I gave Tom when at Harmonie \$2 or \$3 I have forgotten which. Coopers bill on him amts. to \$33.25 $\frac{3}{4}$ which is \$2 more than I acctd. for on the 24th of Apr: I have therefore pd. Tom \$4 or \$5 of the \$23 which I then owed him & of course am now indebted to him \$18 or \$19.

Octr. 4th. Made abt. 2 Galls of wine from the wild Grape I found the Gravity of the must to be 955 Gr: to a must of that weight there requires one measure of Honey to

11 measures of must to bring it to a gravity of 988 Gr: which was the gravity of my wine

Novr. 13

Tried the gravity of the purest of my Honey. the weather was mild & the honey just in a liquid state. 328 grains (which is at the rate of 3 lbs to the Galln.) added to two oz. or 875 gr. of water gave a Mixture of 1070 Gr. gravity, to the 2 oz measure of Water, another measure of water added to the whole of the mixture, gave a gravity of 975 Gr: which of course is at the rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. to the Galln. this Experiment proves this honey to be nearly double the sweetness of sugar 3 lbs of which mixed with 1 Galln. of water gives only a gravity of 984 Gr to the 2 oz. measure.

Decr. 1. Lent Hearsom \$10.80. Gave T: Hine my Note for \$17.25. Decr 7 Reced 317 lb beef of Mrs Spring. Alan had 125 lbs. Wrote to Hartley & paid 25 Cts. to Brown for postage he assured me the Letter was sent by him upon Thursday Decr. 23d. 1825.

Wrote to my Brother Charles, & to Mr Pell & Mr Clark wrote to Messrs Warders which three Letters were given to Chas Birkbeck to be put into the Post Office at Bonpas Mar: 6, 1826. Mr. Clark paid Backhouse \$13 on my Acct.

Wrote to W. Marter in Augst. 1826

Wrote to Ewell by Mr Whitwell in Aug. 26

Hearsom has settled wth B Birkbeck for the anvil which belongs to me & all accts. between Hearsom & myself are settled to Nov 1— 1826

Novr. borrowed 10\$ of Mr C: which I paid to A: Emmerson

* * * * *

6 pair Stockings

[6] 7 Shirts & Shifts

10 [9] Night Caps

10 Napkins 1 Flannel

[6] 11 Handkerchiefs

5 Bed Gowns

1 Pillow Case

4 Nightcaps

6 Shirts

5 Pocket Hands

4 p Stockings

2 Bed Gowns

[12] 9 Towels

2 Napkins

1 Frock

20 Phila

90 Carr & Expences to Pittsburg

30 Ark & Expences at Do.

20 Down the river, Athens & Prairies

20 Return to Athens.

180

200 for 100 Acres

150 Cabin, Well, Fencing,

100 Board for a Year & Stock

630 .

LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS

Friends at Ewell

Mr. Everest, by Grutt, Mar: 1824

Mr. Mayd by Graham, Apr: 1823

Miss Morris

Mr. Monger

Mr. Harrison

Mr. Trimmer 3 Store St.

Mr. Barron

Mr. Tothill Haines by Mr Hebert Oct 1822

Mr. Stevenson No. 3 Beaufort Row

Mr. Thomson 91 Sloane St

Mr. Yeend	Boro Market
Mr. Palmer	St. Georges Place Newington
Mr. Thomson	Dundau St. Edinburgh
Mrs. Clerk	
Miss Campbell	
Miss Murray	Queens Ferry
Mr. Stone	Ewell
Mrs. Wood	
Mr. Wilson	Westgarths Lodgings Tynemouth
E: Marter	Chimes Buck or 122 Oxf St.
J: Marter	
W: Marter	
Mr. Taunton	Cheam
Mr. Mercer	Kingston
Mr. Pullock	Epsom
J: C: Barber	Care of Mr Kitchen Mercht Coffee House
J. Gaul Sadler	Philadelphia
Wm. or Petty Vaughan	70 Fenchurch St. London
R: E Griffith	106 South 8th Street By Mr [H]: G
Mr. Hebert	4 Cross Keys Sqr. Little Brittain

A LIST OF SEEDS PUT INTO A CANIS JANU 26. 1822

Wheat	7	Carrott	5
Spelt	2	Parsnip	5
Rye	3	Celery	8
Barley	6	Navet, (Turnip)	3
Oats	5	Millet & 11 others	12
Pease	10	Maize	5
Tares	16	Beans	2
Grasses	33	Apple, Fir & 6 more	8
Clover	13	Charlton Pea	1
Lucern	2	Harmony Wheat	1
Sainfoin	3	Flower Seeds	12

Burnet	1	Do	11
Melilot	3	In Thos. Chest	
Various, Mr. T.	10	Celery 1, Lettuce 1,	2
Hemp	2	Cabbage 2, F: Beans 2,	4
Pumpkin	2	Turnips 1, Cauliflowers 1.	2
Beet	3	Carrotts 2, Melon 5,	7
Mangel Wurtzel	1	Cucumbr. 3 Mustard 1.	4
Spinach	2	Radish 1, Clover 2,	3
Lettuce	10	Endive 1, Onion 1, Peas 2,	4
Cabbage	9	Gooseberry 1, Beans 1,	2
		Flowers	67

A LIST OF KITCHEN VEGETABLES INTENDED TO BE CULTIVATED, MONTH IN WHICH THEY SHOULD BE PLANTED, & THE QUANTITY OF GROUND REQUISITE TO PRODUCE AN AMPLE SUPPLY OF EACH

Peas.	February.	30 Rods.	The various kinds planted at the same time will come in succession from May to July. Room should be left for Melons
Parsnip	Do	8 Do	Parsnips may perhaps be planted to advantage in Autumn. they should be put in drills 18 In. apart.
Carrot	March	4 Do	Should be [plant] sown as parsnips, in drills 18 In apart & left a foot distant in the rows.
Onion	Do.	4 Do	Sown also in drills 12 In: apart & thinned to 6 In in the rows.
Lettuce	Do.		Should be sown Broadcast among the Onions & Carrotts. The Brown Cos. &

			Florence are best, the latter earliest.
Cabbage	Do.	8 Do	Should be sown & planted out as early as possible.
White Potato.	Do.	20	Some I think may be planted to advantage in Novr. in deep furrows covered wth. dung, & <i>well earthed</i> , to protect them fr: Frost.
Kidney Beans	April	10	A Succession may be planted in June.
Indian Pea.	Do.	10	
White Bean	Do	10	
Lima Do	Do	20	
Roasting Ears	Do		May be planted along the sides of the squares & borders.
Melons	Do		Melons & Cucumbers should be planted among the Peas, & Early Potatoes.
Cucumbers	Do		
Tea Kettle	1.50		
Frying Pan	1—		
Pitcher & Pan.	1—		
Boat		7000	
Cable		375	
Skiff		250	
Tow.		12 ½	
Shovel		100	
Saw		150	
Caulking Iron		75	
Hammer		50	
Gimblet & Nails		28	

Liquor	100
Axe & Hatchet	200
Nails	50
Leather 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lanthorn ¹² 150	187 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cord 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pilot 300	337 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>
	9915 $\frac{1}{2}$ Paid
	75

Articles paid at Pittsburg for ark 2415 $\frac{1}{2}$

Tea 2 lb.	200
Coffee 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	46
Pepper	18
Sugar	250
Rice	90
Cheese	25
Candles	135
Hams	300
Eggs	68 $\frac{3}{4}$
Suett	50
Bread	50
Flour	50
Apples	18 $\frac{3}{4}$
Butter	100

1401 $\frac{1}{2}$

Potatoes	100
Provisions on River	1112 $\frac{1}{2}$

3) 2614

871

250

621

¹² Lantern.

Paid 2/5 [?]	2400
deduct	1500
	<hr/>
	99 [?]

THE HALL FAMILY

William Hall, son of William and Sarah Marter Hall, born in Ewell, Surrey, England, February 20, 1773, the eldest of five children. Died at Wanborough, Illinois, in 1837. He married Elizabeth James Colhoun (Colquhoun), December 27, 1803. She was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1773, and died in Wanborough, 1859. There were nine children, plus two who died as infants:

William, born 1804, died without issue.

Robert, born 1805, died young.

James, born 1807, died an infant.

James Colhoun, born 1808, died an infant.

Edward, born 1809, accidentally shot in youth.

Janet, born 1810, married S. E. Pritchard, 1829. Descendants named Flower, Colyer, Ronalds, and Wilson. Misses Alice and Janet Bradshaw, of Albion, Illinois, are great granddaughters.

Elizabeth, born November 24, 1811, married Walter Mayo, moved to Leavenworth, Kansas. Mrs. Alice Schoenemann, daughter, died recently. Walter Mayo, grandson, resides in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Sarah, born March 29, 1815, married Reimer Kohlsaats, moved to Galena, Illinois. Children: H. H. Kohlsaats, C. C. Kohlsaats, E. C. Kohlsaats, Bertha, Annie, and Eva (Mrs. C. O. Tower). Grandchildren: Mrs. Potter Palmer and Edward Kohlsaats, Chicago; E. C. Kohlsaats, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Miss Edith Kohlsaats and Mrs. Harry Wells, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin; Mrs. Alice Hammon, River Forest, Illinois; and Philemon B. Kohlsaats, Chicago.

John, born October 20, 1816, moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. No living descendants.

James Colhoun Thomson, born 1818, married Elizabeth Emerson, lived in Albion, Illinois. No descendants.

Martha, born February 20, 1820, married Samuel Hall, continued living in the old home near Albion. Living descendants: Mrs. Mildred Ried, Buena, Washington; Frank Bowman, Carmi, Illinois; Mrs. Ella Bowman Floyd and Bertha R. Bowman, Rosemead, California; Mrs. Elizabeth Lovelace, Brighton, Colorado.

When the Hall family came to America in 1821, they settled at Little Prairie, three and one-half miles west of Albion, Illinois—on what is still known as the "Hall Farm." Until recently, this farm was owned by Mrs. Floyd.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

HISTORIC ILLINOIS: THE ROMANCE OF THE EARLIER DAYS. By Randall Parrish. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905.

At the close of World War I a group of authors in Illinois became nationally famous as the so-called Chicago School. When the fame of this school was at its height in 1923, another Illinois writer, Randall Parrish died at Kewanee, Illinois. Randall Parrish never ranked with the greatest literary men but his books about the Middle West were legion. Today his publisher cannot give a complete list of them. A writer of both history and historical fiction, he did a great deal to interest lay readers in the midland's past. His best known work was probably *When Wilderness Was King*, first published in 1904. A year later he published a serious historical work entitled *Historic Illinois: The Romance of the Earlier Days*. Although this gilt-topped volume is not the result of original historical research, an Illinois bookshelf is hardly complete without it.

Parrish begins his story with the Indian mounds:

Every evidence is present that the Mound-builders maintained a very widely extended system of barter with distant races. "In these mound along the Illinois," writes Snyder,¹ "are to be found marine shells from the Gulf of Mexico; copper from Lake Superior; catlinite from the pipe stone ledges of Minnesota; obsidian from New Mexico or the Rock Mountains; mica from North Carolina; and hematite and galena from Southeast Missouri or the upper Mississippi." The age of these "altar" mounds remains a problem unsolved, but beyond doubt the builders had not yet become skilled in the ceramic art, one of the earliest usually mastered by aborigines. The few pottery vessels found are coarse, rude, and without noticeable artistic decoration. The human skeletons discovered in these earth-banks exhibit anatomical characteristics of a very low order. Their crania were similar to those of the lower American Indian type, but with a wide variation of facial angle. They possessed low, narrow, and retreating foreheads, having a general appearance that was ape-like and hideous, yet these people developed into exceedingly skillful artisans.

Randall Parrish's acquaintance with wild Indians was not limited to books on archaeology. He had been born in Henry County, Illinois, was educated at the University of Iowa, and practiced law in Wichita, Kansas, from 1879 to 1883, but the lure of silver mining enticed him to Arizona in the days when Geronimo and his Apaches were on the war

path. For two years Parrish "prospected" without success. His adventurous life is echoed in his historical interests, which always focus most sharply on the early days of exploration in Illinois. Henri de Tonty was a favorite with him:

Plunging into the backwoods almost as soon as he reached Canada, the remainder of Tonty's life was intimately connected with the American frontier, and particularly associated with the country of the Illinois. His earlier services, under La Salle, have already been mentioned. It is upon March 2, 1680, that day when the great leader left him in command at Fort Crèvecoeur, that he first stands forth separate and distinct in history. One can but wonder at his thoughts as he stood there on the frozen shore at the foot of Peoria Lake in that far-off lonely day, and watched La Salle's canoe fade away into the distance. He was yet hardly a frontiersman, for he had been scarcely more than a year upon the border; he was young, ambitious, trained to strict obedience in European military camps, yet now he was left entirely alone to command this uttermost post of France, with league on league of wilderness stretching about on every side, unknown, mysterious. Just above the little fort, on the opposite river bank, the great village of Illinois Indians swarmed with suspicious savages, while here within the log walls of Crèvecoeur mutiny was already being shown openly before him. It was a situation desperate with peril, despairing in loneliness.

He had with him only fifteen men with which to defend his position—smiths, ship-carpenters, housewrights, and soldiers, besides his servant, L'Espérance, and the two Récollet friars, Membré and Ribourde.

When Randall Parrish quit prospecting in Arizona he went to Denver to work on a newspaper. As a reporter he drifted on to Omaha, Sioux City, and finally back to Chicago. His long experience as a reporter shows in his simple style coupled with his eye for colorful episodes. A man of the open spaces chained by necessity to a writer's desk, he saw Illinois as a wilderness state and he lingered over lengthy accounts of its trails and waterways:

These open gateways leading into the Illinois country were both numerous and inviting. The great Lake of Michigan touched it upon the northeast, with portage of scarcely a mile leading to the southerly flow of the Des Plaines, and that across an almost level prairie. When the *voyageur* had once dipped the sharp prow of his canoe in those silvery waters, no obstacle of land lay between him and the blue surge of the Mexican Gulf. Before him stretched, unvexed, almost unruffled, a thousand leagues of magnificent water-way, ever tending southward. As early as 1673 Marquette passed over this route, northward bound, with his fur-trading companion and four *engagés*, in birch-bark canoes, and ever after it was in constant use by the French. Along the entire western line rolled the vast Mississippi, with many a side-stream leading into it from the east, nearly all having their sources within easy portage of the great lakes.

Of these the Wisconsin, by portage from the Fox, was early found the most convenient, and remained long an extensively used highway from Green Bay westward. Rock River was also utilized to some extent by the fur traders, but was never esteemed a popular route for the longer journey, although the Fox was thus considerably used. Far to the south the Ohio—*La Belle Rivière* of the French—bore many a brave burden along its gleaming waters, while adventurous prows pushed up the Wabash, the Kaskaskia, and numerous contributory streams. During the latter portion of the French military occupancy, the Ohio-Wabash route, with its easy portage to the Maumee, became quite a favorite for the transportation of troops destined for service along the English border, and in still later times this same Ohio proved a favorite gateway for inflowing American settlers from Virginia and the South. But during all the period of earliest exploration, the regime of the fur trader, and the one hundred and seventy years of French control, the most popular water route eastward to Canada followed the course of the Illinois. Its gentle current, and its total freedom from rapids, together with the easy portages to lake or to other streams, made it an ideal highway for boat travel, whether attained by way of the Des Plaines or the Kankakee.

Parrish's study of the Illinois wilderness in the French period led him to Fort Chartres. He described the second structure as follows:

This second fort, one of the greatest ever built in America up to that date, and the most costly ever erected on this continent by France, was constructed according to plans prepared by an engineer officer, Lieutenant Jean B. Saussier. It was begun in 1753, and occupied by troops toward the end of the Summer of 1756. The site chosen was about a mile above the old fort, and half a mile back from the river. The spot selected would seem to have been a strange one for so important a structure, being low and exposed to inroads of water, but was apparently in accordance with French practice. Here, at the great expense, for those days, of one million dollars, was erected a vast fortification. It is generally believed that large profits went to the commandant and others interested in its construction. The fort was built of limestone, quarried from the bluffs four miles east where to this day the quarry may be seen, while the finer stone with which the gateways and buildings were all faced came from beyond the Mississippi. Altogether it covered an area of four acres, and was capable of sheltering a garrison of three hundred men. The most complete description of its interior arrangement is that given by Captain Pitman, who visited it ten years after completion, and while it was under British control. He wrote as follows:

"The fort is an irregular quadrangle; the sides of the exterior polygon being four hundred and ninety feet. The walls are two feet, two inches thick, and pierced with loopholes at regular intervals, with two port holes for cannon in the faces, and two in the flanks of each bastion. The ditch has never been finished. Within the walls is a banquettes raised three feet for men to stand on when they fire through the loopholes. The buildings within the fort are a commandant's house and a commissary's house, the magazine of stores, *corps de garde*, and two barracks; these occupy th

square. Within the gorges of the bastion are a powder magazine, bake-house, and prison, on the floor of which are four dungeons."

George Rogers Clark naturally appealed to Parrish, and when in his *Historic Illinois* he came to the great Virginian's exploit at Kaskaskia, he wrote:

Clark's immediate party, which numbered scarcely more than a dozen, lay, during the early evening, under the river bank, where they were barked at by dogs. The scouts pressing up the steep hill and finding the fort gate open, those behind pushed on through the darkness to Rocheblave's house, and succeeded in capturing that surprised commandant in an upper room. Hauling him downstairs, they gave the signal for general attack. Yelling like mad, the united bordermen surged through the fort, in which they found not a single soldier to oppose them, and up and down the streets of startled Kaskaskia, and within fifteen minutes were in full possession without the necessity of firing a gun. Armed with the knowledge—which had just reached this country before he left the East—that France was already in open allegiance with the American Colonies, Clark made judicious use of this important fact to win to himself the confidence of the French inhabitants. His moderation and kindness toward them also tended to immediately restore quietness. Their spirits rose when they learned that instead of being made slaves by these bloodthirsty Virginians, the "long knives" they had been taught so long to fear, they were, upon taking an oath of allegiance to the Republic, to be allowed to go at their pleasure, and meet in their little church as of old. All the Creoles, Clark reported, took the oath of loyalty, as thus prescribed, but Commandant Rocheblave had been exceedingly violent and insulting in language, and for punishment was sent to Virginia as a prisoner, and his slaves sold, the money thus obtained being divided among his riflemen.

The War of 1812 gave Parrish a chance to report the Dearborn Massacre. He also described the site of the Massacre as he saw it in 1905. The great city of Chicago had risen during the ninety-year interim.

Let us walk slowly and thoughtfully from this spot southward on Michigan Avenue, one of the most stately boulevards of the world, past the sombre-hued business-houses, the magnificent hotels, the great buildings dedicated to art, music, and drama, until we arrive where the green park stretches along upon one side, smiling back upon rows of pleasant houses. It all forms a city scene to be remembered, to be long treasured in the mind, with its panorama of ever-changing natural and architectural beauty, its constantly recurring suggestions of refinement and wealth. Let us drift eastward as we approach Fourteenth Street, and select for our further promenade one of those avenues running closer to the lake shore, avenues beautified by large and tasteful homes, rendered attractive by every device of wealth. At Eighteenth Street, we may pause and contemplate the bronze monument erected there. If we have done this thoughtfully, then we have lived over once again within our own minds one of the great tragedies of the Illinois frontier, for we have been walking upon

historic ground, ground once reddened with blood, along a path marched over by soldiers, women, and children, to their fate beneath the dripping knife and tomahawk of savages.

It seems now so far away, so unreal in the midst of all this glamour and show. Yet here it was that the unspeakable horror was perpetrated. Here the hordes of painted savages skulked behind the sand-ridges, and leaped forth to kill and mutilate; here Wells died, as became a fearless soldier; here Ronan gave up his young life ungrudgingly; here women and little ones, whose names have been forgotten, fell shrieking beneath the savage blows. Let us see if out of that dim past we cannot paint again, in fresher coloring, that old historic picture against the background of this busy city life.

The Black Hawk War of 1832 gave Parrish another opportunity to report action. Next he described the Mormons at Nauvoo, then other early Illinois settlements and the capitols at Kaskaskia, Vandalia, and Springfield. An account of dueling shows the type of excitement which always appealed to Randall Parrish. "Border Outlawry" and "Humors of the Frontier" are among the titles of his concluding chapters. Unfortunately for students of history, he did not follow *Historic Illinois* with other similar works. He found historical fiction much more remunerative and less exacting. For fifteen years he turned out a book a year—occasionally two books. Some of these sold well.

Randall Parrish's last years were spent at his home in Kewanee, where he died at the age of seventy-five.

HISTORICAL NOTES

HIGHER EDUCATION IN DIXON*

In looking back over the history of schools in Illinois, we find them set up first in private homes, often log cabins. Then came the log school-house and later schoolhouses of wood, brick, or stone. In these early days there was an entire absence of classification of pupils by grades. They were grouped according to the textbook used in oral reading. The writer recalls that in his early days there were no grades, no examinations, no report cards, and no graduations.

Later, higher schools were started, that is, schools where one or more of the subjects of the present-day high school curriculum were taught. These, in turn, led to the organization of high schools in the larger cities. It remained, however, for the villages and smaller cities to take the initiative in the establishment of that steppingstone of its era, the academy or seminary. These academies were tuition schools and they generally disappeared with the advent of free high schools.

Dixon, Illinois, had a succession of educational institutions during its early years. A brief survey of these is given here. The year 1855 is especially noteworthy. In that year it had a population of 3,054; many new buildings were erected; the toll bridge over the Rock River became free for pedestrians; a telegraph line connected Dixon and Rockford; the Illinois Central Railroad operated its first trains through the city; and the Dixon Air Line started trains eastward.

It was also in 1855 that Dixon began to earn its reputation as a center of higher education. On January 30, 1855, a meeting was held at Exchange Hall to consider a plan proposed by the Rock River Presbytery for locating a college there. As a result of this meeting, the Dixon Collegiate Institute was opened in the basement of the Lutheran Church in May of the same year. The Rev. W. W. Harsha was the first president of the school, and he served also as one of its teachers. Other members of the faculty were: E. C. Smith, Mrs. E. A. Smith, Mrs. C. L. Harsha, and Miss Jennie Backus.

* This article was condensed from a longer paper read at a meeting of the Lee County Historical Society several years ago. The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable assistance he received from Judge George C. Dixon, Judge Grover W. Gehant, R. A. Rodesch, and J. B. Lennon.

Plans for a building went forward at once and on July 4, 1855, the cornerstone was laid in the presence of a large audience. B. F. Taylor of Chicago delivered the principal address of the occasion. This five-story brick structure was located on the highest elevation of Bluff Park, very probably on the site of the present loop drive from Second Street into and from Dixon's Bluff Park of today. This site afforded an unusually beautiful view of the city and the countryside for miles around. The institution had an endowment of \$25,000; the citizens of Dixon gave grounds, property, etc., to the extent of \$12,000. In 1857 the school was incorporated by act of the state legislature.

In 1858 the Dixon Collegiate Institute was abandoned by the presbytery, and during the next twenty-three years there were several changes of management. The school was reorganized in 1858 under the auspices of A. M. Gow. On September 8, 1863, the Dixon Seminary was opened in the Collegiate Institute building by S. G. Lathrop and M. M. Tooke. On January 20, 1874, a conservatory of music was started there by S. W. Moses and E. A. Gurney. On November 1, 1875, a school opened under the name of the Rock River University with O. G. May as president and M. M. Tooke as regent. On December 2, 1878, A. M. Hansen took charge of Rock River University and on September 3, 1879, Jay R. Hinckley became its president. Members of this last board of management of Rock River University under Hinckley included: Major H. O. Chase, military instructor; W. H. Chamberlain, business manager; Henry M. Douglass, Mrs. Jay R. Hinckley, and Miss Lucy Whiton. The University was primarily a preparatory school at that time, but it gave business, music, art, and normal school courses for those wishing such special work.

In 1881 an institution known as the Northern Illinois Normal School and Dixon Business College opened in the old building of the Dixon Collegiate Institute. This occupation lasted but a year, pending construction of more suitable buildings in West Dixon. The initial enrollment was fifty-two students. J. C. Flint was president and J. B. Dille, principal. Miss Carrie Swartz and Robert A. Rodesch were among the first students, and Attorney E. E. Wingert was one of the first instructors. Within a decade the enrollment had passed the one thousand mark and there were thirty faculty members.

The college grounds formed a square embracing four city blocks and comprising twelve acres in the west part of the city. They were ornamented with a great variety of trees and flowering shrubs. The campus was bordered on the east by College Avenue between First and Third streets. It was entirely surrounded by a public drive. In the middle of the campus was the main college building; south of it was the "Ladies' Resi-

dence" and on the north the "Gentlemen's Residence." The main college building and the Ladies' Residence were completed in 1881 and first occupied in 1882. The Gentlemen's Residence was built in 1888. There were also room accommodations for men on the third floor of the main college building. In a catalogue of the school for 1890 the following description of the Ladies' Residence is given:

[The] Ladies' residence is a model home for one hundred young ladies. It . . . is divided into suites of rooms, each consisting of a study and a sleeping room. The reception room is on the first floor, and is used in common by the ladies of the building. All the rooms have ingrain carpets, are nicely papered, and plainly but well furnished. Great pains have been taken in the sanitary arrangement of the building. Perfect ventilation is secured by a modern convenience, besides the ordinary means; the rooms are heated by steam, which does away with the building of fires, dust, dirt, smoke, and labor. It is the most pleasant heat it is possible to have.

Many courses were offered in the different branches of the school. These included a normal college, college of oratory, business college, college of music, college of shorthand and typing, law college, college of "fine art and pen art," and the college of telegraphy. Individual instruction was stressed and industrious and superior students were not held back by those who advanced more slowly. There were also classical and scientific courses. The normal, scientific, and classical courses were four years in length and led to a bachelor's degree. A surveying and engineering course required a year for completion.

The institution was advertised as coeducational, non-sectarian, and truly Christian. Its favorite slogan was: "Home accommodations at home expense." Furnished rooms in the men's and women's residence halls were available to students for thirty cents a week—twenty cents a week when paid by the year in connection with board and tuition. One hundred dollars would pay the total expenses for room, board, and tuition for one school year of forty weeks. Students were permitted to room and board in private homes, but generally they remained on the campus. A boarding hall was maintained on the first floor of the Ladies' Residence with another in the Gentlemen's Residence being held in reserve and used as requirements dictated. Meals were prepared under competent supervision and students waited at table. Textbooks were available at the institution's bookstore located in the central college building. To obtain books the student deposited the value of the books. Then, if they were in no way damaged when he returned them, no charge was made for their use.

The college maintained strict moral discipline, not by severe rules and regulations but by creating an atmosphere of right doing. The strongest influences for good were easily available: the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.

C.A., and the literary societies. Among the latter were the Vespera Society, the Aurora Society, and the Trigonian Society. These organizations, as well as the debating societies and the Senate, offered regular weekly public entertainments. The college of music gave recitals and concerts. These were given in Chapel Hall where exercises were held each school-day morning. This was the general assembly period; here students became better acquainted with each other and were afforded twenty minutes of rest from studies and recitations. There were also Bible readings by members of the faculty.

On the campus, lawn tennis courts were provided in season and also drill grounds for the military groups. The college also prided itself on its athletic prowess and had both baseball and football teams. But the students came primarily to work and to fit themselves for professions. For the most part they came from the poor and middle classes. Class recitations began at 7:00 A.M. and closed at 6:00 P.M. A close relationship between students and teachers helped build character.

The following persons were on the faculty of the Northern Illinois Normal School and Dixon Business College: J. C. Flint, president; J. B. Dille, principal; Clifton Scott, Edward E. Wingert, J. W. Watts, W. H. Williamson, A. H. Beaver, A. D. Clark, Fleta M. Holman, F. E. Rice, C. C. Rearick, L. B. Neighbor, W. F. Strong, C. N. Crandle, L. M. Kelchner, J. M. Kniseley, George C. Heritage, Mrs. George C. Heritage, A. L. Kaylor, Miss Annie E. Eustace, and Mrs. Anna G. Burnham.

During the last few years of the existence of the Northern Illinois Normal School and Dixon Business College, the direction of the school was assumed by the following managers in the order named: Chauncey S. Boucher, Frederick B. Virden, and I. Frank Edwards. In 1914 the school was permanently closed.

L. W. MILLER

DIXON, ILL.

AN ILLINOIS GIRL IN THE GOLDEN WEST

Illinois is a midland state and many people forget its Wild West heritage. We are visually reminded of the pioneer days by pictures of Abraham Lincoln, the rail splitter. We know that many wagon trains of gold seekers left Illinois for Colorado and also for California. Members of the famous Donner Party were residents of Sangamon County. The Texas cattle trail terminated in Illinois long before it became famous in Kansas. So strong was the influence of Illinois on the West, it is said that Colorado's first constitution was copied from the Illinois constitution of 1870.

If so, Illinois' organic law served as a model for other western states—the Dakotas, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Wyoming. We remember also that Nate Salsbury, who persuaded Buffalo Bill to quit the stage and perform under canvas with real horses and Indians, was a resident of Illinois. These things recall the closeness of Illinois to the old open range.

Recently a manuscript has come to the offices of the Illinois State Historical Society, which tells about a new heroic incident in the life of an early-day Illinoisan. Ann Bassett, known as "Queen Ann" on the cow range of Brown's Park, Colorado, shortly after the turn of the century, was the daughter of A. H. Bassett, a Civil War veteran who died at the Soldiers and Sailors Home in Quincy on July 20, 1918, at the age of eighty-four. Bassett was a resident of central Illinois. When the Civil War broke out he volunteered for the 106th Infantry, enrolling himself as a resident of Menard County. He drilled at the fair grounds at Lincoln in Logan County, in a regiment called "Lincoln's Own." Immediately after the war, A. H. Bassett married and moved to Brown's Park in northwest Colorado. His family, reared in this wild and unsettled area, all became expert cow hands, the girls as well as the boys. Ann—or Queen Ann—married Hi Bernard, foreman of one of the big outfits that ran thousands of cattle on the Wyoming-Colorado border. The following account is taken from a manuscript memoir by her husband.

Ann and I were living on the Bassett ranch the winter of 1907. There was a heavy snowfall and very cold weather in December, then came the January thaw, which often happens in the park. The warm Chinook winds blew for several days and melted the snow, broke up the ice in the streams and turned them into raging torrents of muddy water carrying great floating slabs of ice.

Mr. Bassett had stretched a wire cable across the Vermillion for the purpose of getting mail to and from the Star Route Carrier.

The mail carrier came once a week from the Maybell post office sixty miles to the east. Bedding and food for the mail carrier and feed for his horse was sent across the Vermillion by cable when the river was not fordable.

One afternoon during the high water period, we saw a man on horseback riding up and down the banks of the Vermillion directly opposite our house.

It was evident that someone wanted to communicate with us. I saddled a horse and rode to where the cable was anchored. I soon discovered the horseman to be Jack Chew. He was a recent settler who with his wife and several small children lived fifteen miles south and near the foot of Douglas mountain. They were without neighbors at that time of the year. The roaring water of Vermillion was deafening. We could not hear a word spoken. I beckoned Chew to the cable and by motions instructed him to wind the ropes when I fastened pencil and paper to the

pulleys. Chew's message came back that his wife had given birth to a baby the evening before. The baby had died. His wife was in a very bad condition and they needed immediate help.

I sent a note over to Chew advising him to return home, and we would be with them as soon as the night air checked the thaw from the incoming streams and lowered the wild Vermillion so we could cross.

I hurried back to the house and broke the news to Ann. We selected our most dependable grain-fed saddle horses and got ready for an early start the next morning. It was necessary to take a pack horse to carry warm blankets, food and medicine, and grain for our horses.

The only crossing on the Vermillion with good landings was within fifty feet of a falls where the water dashed over a rock ledge to a lower level a hundred feet below.

We arranged to have several good ropers—among them George and Ebb Bassett—stationed on the bank where we were going to attempt a crossing. If a horse failed to swim, or became tangled in the debris and ice, these cowboys might lasso him before horse and rider were swept over the falls to sudden death.

When we were all set to take the plunge into the ice-jammed water, I stepped my horse in and he swam, high and easy.

Then the cowboys shoved the pack horse into the water. By dodging ice and swimming strong he made the landing. Ann came last, her horse reared back and refused to take the plunge. He was a spirited animal, and when she raked him with her spurs he made a long jump and went under water, came up and churned frantically downstream toward the fall. The cowboys spurred along the bank twirling their ropes for a throw. The swimming horse gained his balance, calmed down and swam low through the floating ice chunks to my horse, Ann still on his back. He reached the bank near my horse and we climbed out together.

The horses were cold and scared and we lit out on a keen run and kept the pace for a mile. With cold air fanning our wet clothing we were soon covered with solid sheets of ice.

I roped the pack horse and built a fire in a cedar gulch to warm up a little. We removed our heavy coats and chaps from the pack, where we had them wrapped in a waterproof tarp.

We put our dry things on top of our wet clothing and rode on toward the mountains.

The shock of seeing Ann's horse go under water so near the falls almost floored me. That was the first time I realized I had a bad heart. I damn near died and thought I could not hold out to reach the Chew dug-out fourteen miles away. When we hit the dreary Lone Cedar flat the snow was deep and crusted, and going was slowed up. I believe the only thing that kept me alive that day, was Ann riding in the lead with her head thrown back in defiance of obstacles, on a mission of mercy bent and determined to reach a sick mother in time to help if possible.

We arrived at the Chew camp about four o'clock in the afternoon and found Mrs. Chew very weak and having chills, as she tried feebly to feed her hungry brood. I immediately gathered wood and soon had a roaring fire. We heated rocks to warm the bed and gave her a stiff, hot whiskey toddy.

When Mrs. Chew was made comfortable, Ann pitched in and put the dugout in order. She prepared supper for the children and put them to bed, then she took the only blanket we had to roll up in, and put it over her saddle horse. We sat around an old caved-in fireplace, in a muddy dugout and watched over Mrs. Chew that night, and for several days and nights, until we knew she was out of danger.

I have never regretted that experience.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

AN ENGLISHMAN SEES A PRAIRIE TOWN

Between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River lies the prairie-land of Illinois. From the river to the lakes there run a host of railroads, and amongst them there is one, now in process of construction, called the Racine and Mississippi Railroad. . . . The interior of Northern Illinois is still a great prairie country, dotted here and there with new cities. Railroads are not constructed there to connect existing towns, as much as to open out new ranges of country; and if the Racine and Mississippi had to depend upon the custom of the inhabitants settled along its route before the line was made, its chance of profit would be a small one. For mile and miles our road lay along the silent, almost deserted, prairie—every now and then a low cutting through a hillock, sometimes a short embankment over a hollow, and then a flat bridge carried on piles across a marshy stream; but as a rule, a long level track, scarcely raised above the ground and stretching without curve or bend for miles before and miles behind you. Right in the middle of the prairie, the rail came to an end at Lanark.

Alongside the depôt there stood a sort of railway caravan, which had been the first house of Lanark. When the rail was finished, there was not a hut or covered dwelling of any kind on the spot, and so this caravan was sent down there as a shelter for the railroad servants. By this time it had served its purpose, and I heard the order given for its transmission back to Racine, in order to be used elsewhere for a like object. Close to the station there was an hotel built already, not a pot-house or a roadside tavern, but a genuine, well-ordered inn. Of course, being in America, it had a bar-room, a public room with long tables, and public meals at fixed hours. It was clean too, and neatly furnished, as hotels in the Free State mostly are. The only national institution in which it was deficient was going. The first landlord—there had been three already—had levanted taking that inevitable deafening instrument of torture with him on his departure, and happily it had not yet been replaced. There was a pian in the house, belonging to the wife of a gentleman employed on the line and in his room I found copies of Macaulay's History, and of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall." The hotel was the property of the Company, and had been built by them to induce settlers to come to the place, and it seemed

to be doing a good business. Meanwhile, the town was fast growing up around it.

Lanark, like all Western cities, is built on the simplest of plans. The owners or projectors of the settlement buy a certain number of acres, draw out a plan of the town, dividing it into streets and lots, and allow any purchaser to build any sort of dwelling on his lot he likes. The houses may be as irregular and unlike as possible; but, as the spaces allotted for the streets are not allowed to be encroached upon, the general plan of the town must correspond with the chart. The map of the city had been drawn out by a Scotch clerk in the service of the railroad, who had undertaken the task of naming the streets. To display his nationality, he had given Scotch names—Bute, Argyle, Forth, Moray, and Macs innumerable—and had only condescended to American prejudices so far as to permit of there being a Main and a Chesnut Street. Most of these streets, however, were still streets of the future, and the influx of population had as yet only called Main and Bute Streets into existence. The first of these is the commercial thoroughfare of Lanark, and in it there were some twenty shops already established. I noticed two competing ironmongers and tinner, whose stores seemed plentifully stocked, two or three rival groceries, two saddle and harness makers, and a couple of beer and oyster saloons—a tailor's, a shoemaker's, and a lawyer's office. Besides these, there were two large stores building, one of which was to be a furniture warehouse, and the other, I think, a dry-goods shop. Bute-street consisted of private cottages. A number of shanties, too, were scattered round the place, but not close enough yet to one another to form streets. Every house in the place was of wood, many of them two, or even three, storeys high. The majority of the houses had curtains and green veranda shutters, and even the poorest I looked into were far superior in comfort to an ordinary English labourer's cottage, not to mention their being clean and airy. The streets were mere tracks of prairie-land, hardened by the wheels of teams, of which the town was full; but there were planked footpaths raised along Main-street.

The object, indeed, for which Lanark has been founded is to form a *épôt* for agricultural produce. The fertile plains of the vast prairie will produce boundless supplies of wheat and corn. There is no clearing to be done before these plains can be cultivated. For some cause or other, which nobody appears to me to have explained as yet satisfactorily, trees do not grow spontaneously upon the prairie, fertile as it is; and for miles on every side of Lanark there was scarcely a tree to be seen. A New England farmer, who had lately removed there, told me he should never feel at home until he had brought some rocks from the Pilgrim State, and planted trees be-

tween their crevices, so as to form a miniature Massachusetts of his own. The richness of the soil is something marvellous. You have but to turn it up some three inches deep, and the land will yield crops year after year without rest or manure. An acre will bear from thirty to forty bushels, and wheat fetches from half-a-crown to three shillings a bushel. Indian corn, or "corn" as it is called there, is so plentiful that in many winters it is burnt for fuel. With such prices the only thing which stops the cultivation of wheat is the difficulty and expense of bringing it to market; and as fast as the railroad removes this difficulty, the cultivation extends rapidly. On one day, within a few weeks of the railroad being opened, three hundred team-loads of wheat were brought to the single station of Lanark. The population therefore of the city consists of farmers, and of dealers who have come to provide for their wants. There is, of course, a great deal of luck about Western towns, as about all other speculations in a new country; and it is impossible as yet to say whether Lanark will succeed in becoming the depôt of its district; but its prospects are flourishing. Its population, as far I could gather, numbered already about 300 persons. There was no church yet built, but every week there came some minister or other, who preached in a room at the hotel. The people were already making arrangements for establishing schools. One of the chief settlers, with whom I had some conversation, talked of raising 1,000 dollars in the town for this purpose, and said that he hoped to get as much more from the Education Fund of Springfield, the county town of Lanark district. The first public meeting in the town was to be held the week following my visit, to consider the school question, as the railway company had offered to give land for the school buildings at unusually low prices. The site of a church was, I understood, fixed upon, and I had pointed out to me a long square of prairie-land, which is to be hereafter the park of Lanark. If, a dozen years hence, the park were to be surrounded by stone mansions, the growth of Lanark would not be more surprising than that of other Western cities.

EDWARD DICEY, *Six Months in the Federal States* (London, 1863), II: 133-39.

A STORMY WEDDING TRIP

On July 3d, in Wilmington, Ill., [I] was married to Miss H. Bryant, by Rev. W. H. Dean, of Joliet. This lady is a native of New York, and for a year or two previous to this date, was one of the Principals of a seminary in Warrenville, Ill. Left Wilmington with my charge, to return to Terre Haute. But the windows of heaven opened, and the fountains of the great

deep were broken up. The summer of 1844 will long be remembered in the West, as the summer of floods, tornadoes, thunder and lightning. The whole country was inundated, and traveling was very dangerous business. We came near being swept away, on crossing a rapid stream, the first day of our journey. Arriving at the Kankakee river, we found it past fording, and nothing but a small skiff with which to cross the stream. The carriage was taken to pieces, and carried over in parcels, and the horses swam the river. A few miles south we encountered Beaver Creek—then a mighty river. Again the buggy was ferried over by piece-meal, and the horses swam at the side of the frail bark, I holding them by their heads. Every slough was a river, which we had to ford or swim. A few miles from the Iroquois river, when far from a house, a terrible storm burst on our heads. There was no shelter, and for about one hour we were exposed to one of the most violent storms I ever witnessed. The wind blew a tornado, the thunder crashed fearfully, the lightning flashed sheets of fire, the rain and hail poured down in torrents, and to add to the terror of the scene, the trees came crashing to the ground, all around us. We finally reached a house on the bank of the river, and were right glad to have a roof between us and that wild elemental war. There we had to remain several days, as it was impossible to proceed till the waters abated. But I was very restless, as I had an engagement in Oakland, Ill., and had barely time to reach there without any detention. I had agreed to have a discussion in that place with E. Kingsbury, a Presbyterian minister of Danville, but that last storm prevented my filling the engagement.

The bridge across the Iroquois river being washed away by the flood, the carriage was again taken to pieces, and ferried over, while the horses swam to the opposite shore. But one of them came near drowning, as he became entangled in top of a tree that had drifted down; he was finally rescued, and we were soon on the way to encounter more trouble. Reached the Wabash river bottom, opposite Montezuma, and found it all inundated—the water from one to three feet deep. When about half way across, in attempting to cross a low place on a corduroy bridge, all under water, and not visible, the water being so dirty, we missed the middle of the corduroy, and carriage, horses, bride and bridegroom, went over the side into the mud and water. The bride, a perfect hero, stood in the mud and water three feet deep, holding the frightened horses, while the bridegroom transferred the baggage from the buggy to the trunk of a fallen tree, which happily was not far distant. We finally got out of the slough, in a pretty bad plight though, and crossed the river on to dry land, and the next day reached Terre Haute—thus ended our *bridal tour*.

ERASMUS MANFORD, *Twenty-Five Years
in the West* (Chicago, 1867), 174-76.

ILLINOIS ROAD GUIDE A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO

ROUTE FROM POSTE VINCENNES [FORT VINCENTS] TO KASKASKIAS

	French leagues.	Hours
To the brook <i>Ombra</i>	3	2
Thence to the Elm in the middle of a meadow . . .	4½	3
Thence to Cat river	4½	3
Thence to the Yoke	5	3
To the Brinespring	2	1½
To the Slave's Gibbet	5	3
To Great Point	5	2½
To the Coffeepot	4	2
To the Yellow Bark	5	3
To Walnut Point (a pretty rivulet)	5	2½

Beyond this rivulet is a beavers dam that has been destroyed: at a cross way you take the left hand road, which is the shortest, but you get no water for five leagues, and rejoin the great road at *Pointe aux Fesses*.

From Walnut Point to the Dam	1½	1
To the triple-thorned acacia	4	2
To <i>Pointe aux Fesses</i>	5	3
To the Meadow of the Hole	5	3
To the Great Rib	5	3
To l'Epronier	4	2
To Kas	6	4
	<hr/> 73½	<hr/> 43½

The country from the *Ombra*, about seven miles and a half from the Fort, is no longer a continuous forest, but a Tatarian meadow, interspersed here and there with little clumps of trees, flat, naked, windy, and cold in winter. In summer it is decked with high strong plants, which so rub against the rider's legs in the narrow path, through which he must travel, that the journey out and home will wear out a pair of boots. Water is very scarce; and you are liable to lose your way, as one of my companions did three years before, when with two others he wandered about for seventeen days. Thunderstorms, rain, flies, and horseflies, are extremely troublesome in summer. Five years ago you could not cross these meadows without seeing herds of four or five hundred buffaloes; but now there are none. Annoyed by the hunters, and still more by the bells of the American cows.

they have gone to the other side of the Mississippi, swimming across the river.

C. F. VOLNEY, *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States* (London, 1804), 378-79.

PIONEER WHOOPEE

In pure pioneer times, the crops of corn were never husked on the stalk, as is done at this day; but was hauled home in the husk and thrown in a heap, generally by the side of the crib, so that the ears when husked could be thrown direct into the crib. The whole neighborhood, male and female, were invited to the shucking, as it was called. The girls and many of the married ladies generally engaged in this amusing work. In the first place, two leading, expert huskers were chosen as captains and the heap of corn divided as near equal as possible. Rails were laid across the pile, so as to designate the division, and then each captain chose alternately his corps of huskers, male and female. The whole number of working hands present were selected on one side or the other and then each party commenced a contest to beat the other, which was in many cases truly exciting. One other rule was that whenever a male husked a red ear of corn, he was entitled to a kiss from the girls. This frequently excited much fuss and cuffling, which was intended by both parties to end in a kiss.

It was a universal practise that tafia or Monongahela whisky was used at these husking frolics, which they drank out of a bottle—each one, male and female, taking the bottle and drinking out of it and then handing it to his next neighbor, without using any glass or cup whatever. This custom was common and not considered rude. The bread used at these frolics was baked generally on johnny or journey-cake boards and is the best corn-bread ever made. A board is made smooth, about two feet long and eight inches wide; the ends are generally rounded. The dough is spread out on this board and placed leaning before the fire. One side is baked and then the dough is changed on the board, so the other side is presented in its turn to the fire. This is johnny-cake and is good if the proper materials are put in the dough and it is properly baked. Almost always these corn-shuckings ended in a dance. To prepare for this amusement, fiddles and fiddlers were in great demand and it often required much fast riding to obtain them. One violin and a performer were all that was contemplated at these innocent, rural dances.

Toward dark and the supper half over, then it was that a bustle and confusion commenced. The confusion of tongues at Bable would have been ashamed of those at the corn-shuckings. The young ones hurrying off the

table and the old ones contending for time and order. It was the case nine times out of ten that but one dwelling-house was on the premises and that used for eating as well as dancing. But when the fiddler commenced tuning his instrument, the music always gained the victory for the young side. The dishes, victuals, table, and all disappeared in a few minutes and the room was cleared, the dogs drove out, and the floor swept off, ready for action. The floors of these houses were sometimes the natural earth, beat solid; sometimes the earth with puncheons in the middle over the potato hole, and at times the whole floor was made of puncheons. Sawed planks or boards were not at all common in early times.

The music at these country dances made the young folks almost frantic and sometimes much excitement was displayed to get first on the floor to dance. Generally the fiddler on these occasions assumed an important bearing and ordered in true professional style so and so to be done; as that was the way in North Carolina, where he was raised. This decision ended the contest for the floor. In those days they danced jigs and four-handed reels, as they were called. Sometimes three-handed reels were also danced. In these dances there was no standing still. All were moving at the same time, at a rapid pace, from the beginning to the end. In the jigs, the by-standers cut one another out, as it was called, so that this dance would last for hours at times. Sometimes the parties in a jig tried to tire one another down in the dance and then it would also last a long time before one or the other gave up. The cotillions or standstill dances were not then known. Waltzes were introduced into the country at a late day by the Europeans. . . . The bottle went round at these parties like it did at the shuckings and male and female took a dram out of it as it passed around. No sitting was indulged in and the folks either stood up or danced all night, as generally daylight ended the frolic. A great deal of good feeling was enjoyed in these innocent parties and very little of the green-eyed monster was displayed on these occasions. Mothers could then praise with sincerity the beauty and the grace in the dance of their neighbors' daughters; while at this refined and civilized day, such praises come only from the lips and scarcely that deep. Excessive refinement and accomplishments may polish the outside; but it is doubtful if the inside is made better by the operation.

JOHN REYNOLDS, *The Pioneer History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1887), 316-18.

A ROUGH RIDE FOR HORACE GREELEY

Horace Greeley was once one of my passengers on the Waukegan run. We had orders to make ten minutes' extra time that day, and the Michigan Southern road held their train for New York fifteen minutes, so as to enable Mr. Greeley to make connections for the East in Chicago. When we arrived at the depot, the hackmen, who were a rough set of men in those days, supposed the distinguished man to be some verdant countryman, his odd dress, big umbrella, his hat on the back of his head giving that impression. Several hackmen rushed up and seized the editor.

"Here, old seed, get into this hack," said one driver, pulling Mr. Greeley to his conveyance.

We rescued our noted passenger from the clutches of his pursuers and placed him in the elegant carriage which was awaiting him.

"Look here," I said to the hackman, "that's Horace Greeley."

"Jingo! Is that so?" exclaimed the man, for once in his life taken aback, and the crowd laughed at his expense.

Mr. Greeley seemed to enjoy the joke as well as the rest, and departed amid the cheers of all the bystanders.

CHARLES B. GEORGE, *Forty Years on the Rail* (Chicago, 1887), 156-57.

BOOK REVIEWS

The *Journal* is beginning a new policy of book reviewing. Criticism often draws protests from writers. In groups of professional historians, one of the commonest remarks is: "He viciously and maliciously misquoted me in his review." The same man, when he reviews a book himself, is apt to say: "I like the writer personally but I owe the profession an honest review, and my own reputation as a reviewer demands that I expose the errors in this research." Friction between these two points of view kindles the "scholars' squabbles" that disfigure too many historical magazines and bore all readers but the contestants. Yet a writer who is wronged in a review is certainly entitled to a hearing.

The editors of the *Journal* have a new plan for handling this unpleasant situation. First, we intend to use care in the selection of our reviewers, but no restriction will be placed on the proper expression of their opinions. In case any author objects to the appraisal of his book, the editors do not intend to publish his protest. But we do want the writer to send his protest to us. The reviewer will then be asked to reply to the author's objections. Each will be allowed one rebuttal letter. The four letters will then be submitted to referees who will pass on the points of disagreement. The final decision will be published in this *Journal* with a complete statement of the errors committed by the writer or reviewer as the case may be. After all, our readers are entitled to the truth, though few of them have the time or the patience to follow the intricacies of academic arguments. It will be interesting to see if this experiment solves some of the prevalent dissatisfactions with book reviews.

The Last Trek of the Indians. By Grant Foreman. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1946. 382 pp. \$4.00)

For some thirty years the distinguished author of this interesting and scholarly book has devoted his entire time to research and writing largely upon the Indians of Oklahoma. Many of his former volumes have dealt primarily with the Five Civilized Tribes that number among their members more than three-fourths of the 120,000 Indians now within the limits of Oklahoma, who have played so large a part in the history of the state. This volume, however, deals with the removal to Oklahoma of

those other and smaller tribes now residing within the limits of that state, of which the author lists fifty-four who have contributed their blood to the present Indian population of Oklahoma.

The book contains twenty-one chapters and is divided into two parts. The first, which embraces eight chapters, deals with the removal of the tribes living largely east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio to the region west of the Father of Waters where most of them were established on reservations in Kansas. This removal was substantially completed in the period between 1830 and 1845. The second and longer part of the book treats of the migration of those fragments of tribes that drifted from their old homeland east of the Mississippi into the area occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes, and of the surrender of their reservations by those Indians settled in Kansas who were compelled to exchange their lands in that state for others in western Oklahoma included in the area ceded to the United States by the Five Civilized Tribes in 1866. Finally, this section of the book also deals with the removal to this last named area of those tribes largely indigenous to the region west of the Mississippi.

Throughout the entire story two things are painfully apparent. One is the heartless brutality toward the Indians of the selfish and predatory whites who have been all too common on every American frontier, and the other is the ineptitude and inefficiency of the United States government in the administration of Indian affairs and its neglect of its helpless wards and its failure to afford them any adequate measure of protection. In almost every chapter appear with shocking frequency examples of encroachments upon Indian land by lawless whites, and of whole tribes cheated, wronged, defrauded, and plied with liquor until a majority of their members had become little better than drunken and diseased vagabonds. In the meantime, officials responsible for the welfare of these poor people often made little effort to protect their charges, and in some cases undoubtedly shared in the spoils of this conscienceless exploitation.

The book is well written and shows every evidence of long and patient research. Eight maps showing the location of Indian reservations in various states and of the routes followed in migration add much to the value of the volume, which also has a complete bibliography and a very good index. Everyone who has an interest in the American Indians will be grateful to the author for producing a book which can be read with pleasure and profit and referred to again and again for information upon a phase of Indian history which has hitherto been too much neglected.

University of Oklahoma.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE.

Meet Abraham Lincoln: Profiles of the Prairie President. By G. Lynn Sumner. (Privately printed for the Abraham Lincoln Book Shop, Chicago, 1946. 78 pp. \$5.00, boxed.)

"To most people," writes G. Lynn Sumner, Lincoln "is a far-away figure, occupying a place already remote in history," yet those who study and understand the Civil War President know that he is "not remote at all, but very real and very human, and very simple and very tragic." *Meet Abraham Lincoln* is designed to promote such understanding by answering the basic questions: What did Lincoln read? Whom did he love? How did he manage his cabinet and his generals? What were his fundamental principles and convictions?

Disavowing any claim to originality, the author discusses these queries in elementary and personal terms. It is a chatty little volume, written for the amateur. Here are the stories of the books Lincoln read; of the five women in his life—Nancy Hanks, Sarah Bush Johnston, Ann Rutledge, Mary Owens, and Mary Todd; of the prima donnas in his cabinet and the pretentious failures in his armies. This is the Horatio Alger story of "a lanky, sinewy farm hand in Spencer County, Indiana," who grew up to become "President—the savior of the Union, the symbol of democracy." "Is it not just possible," asks Mr. Sumner, "that . . . the hand of Destiny rested upon the shoulder of Abraham Lincoln?"

As this book was written "not for Lincoln scholars, but in the hope that it may prompt more people, especially young people to become, in a modest way, Lincoln students," it is perhaps unnecessary to subject it to rigid critical appraisal. There are occasional factual errors, and the author has not always profited by recent critical studies—e.g., the Ann Rutledge episode, which he accepts in its entirety. A more serious fault is the unnecessarily harsh handling of both Douglas and McClellan. But in the main Mr. Sumner has succeeded very well in retelling "the fascinating, great, and simple story of a great and simple American."

Fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

DAVID DONALD.

America Is West: an Anthology of Middlewestern Life and Literature, edited by John T. Flanagan. (The University of Minnesota Press, 1945. \$3.75.)

What is the Middle West? Is it a region of middle-class people with middle-class ideas, as contrasted with the more "cultured" East and the more "glamorous" West? Is it the dull, stodgy breadbasket of America, wholesome but not exciting? Mr. Flanagan says "no." To him, the Middle West is "the heartland of America," typifying all that is most exciting and invigorating, most progressive and hopeful, in our country. To prove

his point, he has compiled a fascinating anthology of selections by and about Middle Westerners.

Every phase of the development of this region is covered. As the panoramic picture unfolds, one sees the diversity of life in the Midwest—immense prairies, deep forests, lush farmlands, straggling villages, lusty river towns, and roaring cities. And the people? The pioneer stock has been supplemented by millions from the Eastern seaboard and from Europe, all searching for land of their own, for freedom and opportunity.

Have they found what they wanted? Mr. Flanagan and most of the authors represented in this book say "yes." They feel that Middle Western life tends to be more democratic, less frustrated, more balanced, than elsewhere. To them, the common assumption that the arts, literature, and higher civilization are to be found only in the East, is increasingly unfounded. Presumably the Midwest is in for a renaissance.

The list of authors contributing to this anthology is brilliant. To name a few—Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, John Dos Passos, Edna Ferber, Ben Hecht, Sinclair Lewis, Abraham Lincoln, Vachel Lindsay, D. E. Rölvaag, Carl Sandburg, Lew Sarett, Booth Tarkington, Mark Twain, Grant Wood, Frank Lloyd Wright.

Poems, fables, short stories, reminiscences, essays—each is good reading, many are thought-provoking, some are uproariously funny. It is difficult to lay the book down.

Most adult readers will thoroughly enjoy this book. It should also prove popular as supplementary reading for students of the history and literature of the United States. The editor, a Professor of American Literature at the University of Minnesota, is highly competent, and the format of the book is most attractive.

Northwestern University.

HELEN ELIZABETH KOLB.

No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith. By Fawn Brodie. (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1946. 476 pp. \$4.00.)

Awarded an Alfred A. Knopf fellowship in biography, this is the first objective life of Joseph Smith to appear. The others have either denounced him as an impostor or attempted to prove him a greater prophet than Isaiah. Based on painstaking research making wide use of unpublished sources, the work is a sober, dignified, and mainly impartial account of the life and strange career of the founder of Mormonism. The author's materials are well organized, she writes well, and has handled sensational evidence with good taste and scholarship. Fawn M. Brodie approaches her subject with sympathy yet with a strict sense of objectivity. She is inclined to let the actual records speak for themselves.

Starting with the boyhood and early manhood of the Mormon leader in the state of New York, she gives a detailed account of the translation of the golden plates, after which the story becomes the early history of the Mormon Church. She describes the opposition within and without the church as it moves westward to Ohio, Missouri, and finally to Illinois in search of Zion. Approximately one-third of the book deals with Mormon activities within the state of Illinois. She tells of the adoption of the United Order with its extreme socialistic tendencies and also of its abandonment, after which individual members were allowed to own property.

Mrs. Brodie brings out both the strong and the weak characteristics of Joseph Smith. That he was a leader of real ability there can be no doubt. One of his basic weaknesses was his inability to gauge the repercussions of his policies upon his opposition. His persistent sponsorship of polygamy is a case in point. The author shows Smith's hesitancy in dealing promptly and effectively with dissenters, and his lack of ability to choose and judge his close helpers. His experience with the charlatan J. C. Bennett at Nauvoo is a good example. His greatest weakness was doubtless his inability or incapacity to be content with moderate success, which as he developed his grandiose schemes and plans betrayed him again and again and ruined him in the end. It is a thrilling chronicle and constitutes an important contribution to our knowledge of American frontier history. The book is well documented, and it has well chosen illustrations, a good bibliography and index.

Southern Illinois Normal University.

HAROLD E. BRIGGS.

The Diamond Jubilee History of Carthage College, 1870-1945. By William Carl Spielman. (Sponsored by the Carthage College Historical Society: Carthage, 1945. 220 pp. \$1.50.)

This history of Carthage College was published in commemoration of the school's seventy-fifth anniversary in 1945. Chapter One, however, deals with the pre-Carthage College era. The immediate predecessor, from a spiritual and ideological point of view if not from a legal or corporate standpoint, was a school located in Springfield which ceased to exist legally in 1869. This institution, in turn, had begun its existence as Hillsboro College in 1847, but in 1852, under a new charter, opened in Springfield as the Illinois State University.

In 1869, after financial difficulties and doctrinal dissension had brought about the downfall of the Illinois State University, the recently formed Synod of Central Illinois asked that a "general college convention" be held to consider the educational problems of the Lutheran

Church in the West. This convention, held in the fall of 1869, authorized the appointment of a commission to decide where a new college should be located. Carthage was the unanimous choice. On January 10, 1870, eleven citizens of Carthage formed an association to establish Carthage College. This day has since been known as Founders' Day. The opening of the classical or preparatory school took place on September 5, 1870. The school was coeducational from the start.

In the years that followed, Carthage College weathered many stormy times. But the devoted friends of Carthage College took as their slogan, *Carthago non delenda est*, and looked to the future with hope and confidence. With the coming years their hopes were realized. The financial help of Henry Denhart of Washington, Illinois, proved providential and a substantial building program was undertaken.

The book is a compact, readable history. Unfortunately it has no index, but there are three appendices. These give: I. Faculties of Carthage College, 1870-1945 (alphabetical); II. Trustees and Commissioners of Carthage College, 1870-1945 (chronological and alphabetical arrangement); III. Honorary Degrees conferred, 1882-1945 (alphabetical). There is also a list of "references."

Illinois State Historical Library.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Recollections of Life and Doings in Chicago from the Haymarket Riot to the End of World War I. By an Old Timer [Charles H. Hermann]. (Normandie House: Chicago, 1945. 274 pp. \$3.00.)

These recollections by an "old timer" of "life and doings in Chicago" cover the period in Chicago from the Haymarket Riot to the end of World War I. The author, Charles H. Hermann, entered the employ of Chapin & Gore, distillers and importers, in 1890 as a clerk. By 1901 he had bought out the interest of Gordon S. Chapin, one of the founders of the business, and in January, 1913, after buying out the interest of James S. Carter, he became the sole owner and president of the firm.

Chapin & Gore also operated a restaurant that was world-famous as a rendezvous for noted people. It was a café for men only. The firm also controlled the catering privileges of the famous Washington Park race-track and at one time was unofficial headquarters for the racing fraternity.

Because of such connections, Mr. Hermann saw and knew many prominent Chicago people. Consequently, these are not the usual reminiscences of an old-timer but the colorful, tangy recollections of one who may be old in years but surely is not in spirit. Mr. Hermann has a zest for life, and his recollections deal especially with eating and drinking places, sporting and theatrical interests, newspapermen, and politicians. His

friendship for the latter gave him an intimate knowledge of what goes on behind the scenes, and so he is able to attain his objective "to disclose some inside information in connection with political campaigns and a few high city officials." Especially intimate was his friendship with former Mayor Carter H. Harrison. For Chicagoans this book should prove especially interesting.

Illinois State Historical Library.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Eleventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945. Transmitted by Solone J. Buck, Archivist. (Government Printing Office: Washington, 1946, vi, 86 pp.)

The eleventh annual report of the Archivist of the United States eloquently emphasizes the acute storage situation that exists as a result of the appalling avalanche of records. By the end of the war, our government had created 18,000,000 to 20,000,000 cubic feet of records—an amount sufficient to fill eighteen buildings the size of the present National Archives. Of course, not all these records need to be kept; in fact, the Archivist estimates that three-fourths of them could be destroyed after discriminating evaluation. Nevertheless, there is still urgent need for more storage space.

The collection of archival maps and atlases in the National Archives continues to grow as do the collections of motion pictures and sound recordings. Most of the films come from the government, but among the gifts from private sources were two sound motion pictures portraying Coast Guard activities, and sound recordings of the continuous broadcasts over CBS and NBC of the Allied invasion of Europe, June 6-7, 1944.

Illinois State Historical Library.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Johnny Appleseed, A Voice in the Wilderness: The Story of the Pioneer John Chapman. Centennial Tribute. By Harlan Hatcher, Robert Price, Florence Murdoch, John W. Stockwell, Ophia D. Smith, Leslie Marshall. (The Swedenborg Press: Paterson, N.J., 1945. iv, 74 pp. \$1.00.)

Johnny Appleseed Source Book. By Robert C. Harris. (*Old Fort News*, Fort Wayne, Ind., March-June, 1945. 31 pp.)

The *Fort Wayne Sentinel* reported on March 22, 1845, that John Chapman, better known as Johnny Appleseed, was dead. Perhaps the paper should have said instead that the old man had no more use for the coffee sacking and kettle that he habitually wore for a shirt and hat on his end-

tess pilgrimages distributing apple seeds. Most certainly he was not dead. For the next hundred years his bare feet marched on and on and on through the minds of people in the Midlands—the St. Francis of Assisi of the Old Northwest. On the centenary of his so-called death, two publications commemorated his life—one a small book published by the Swedenborg Press, and the other an issue of the quarterly published by the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society. The first has a foreword by Harlan Hatcher; a summary of the development of the Johnny Appleseed folk story in literature by Robert Price; the story of his life by Ophia D. Smith; and several other tributes to him in poetry and prose.

The second is a compilation of sources on the eccentric and beloved horticulturist, by Robert C. Harris, vice-president of the Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society. Mr Harris has assembled fifteen contemporary "exhibits" which draw the veil of fable from John Chapman. The records of his birth and death are given. Several contracts and promissory notes show him to have been more of a businessman than is usually believed. The estate papers filed in Allen County, Indiana, show that Johnny Appleseed at death had title to a gray mare, considerable land, several small notes, and some judgments against his customers. This accumulation of wealth may not be consistent with Johnny Appleseed's rôle as St. Francis and his vow of poverty, but nothing in the record contradicts the legend of Johnny's piety, his physical courage, his devotion to the spread of gentleness, good will, and apple seeds along a harsh and bloody frontier.

J. M.

Fifty Texas Rarities Selected from the Library of Mr. Everett D. Graff for an Exhibition to Commemorate the Hundredth Anniversary of the Annexation of Texas by the United States. (The William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1946. 40 pp.)

Two Letters on the Event of April 14, 1865. (Bulletin 47 of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich., Feb. 12, 1946. [12] pp.)

Pairs of pamphlets seem to be the fashion. Another couple in the Noah's Ark procession of publications has emerged from the flood of Midwestern monographs. These two were published by the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

The title of one, *Fifty Texas Rarities*, may seem far afield from the upper Mississippi Valley, but the selection of books for this bibliography was made by Illinois' great collector of Western Americana, Everett D.

Graff. From his own library, Mr. Graff has selected books on events "which thrill Texans." He begins with a Spanish account published in 1555 and ends with a Texas Ranger's story of his life, published in 1899. This bibliography is ably compiled by Colton Storm.

The Clements Library's other recent publication consists of two facsimiles of letters dated April 15 and 18, 1865, written by Charles Addison Sanford to his University of Michigan classmate, Edward Payson Goodrich. One relates details of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln by a man who was present in the theatre. The other, written just before Lincoln's funeral, describes the public's reaction to the Emancipator's death.

J. M.

Development of Railroad Transportation in the United States. By Carlton J. Corliss. (Association of American Railroads: Washington, D.C., 1945. 32 pp. \$1.00.)

The Railroad Land Grant Legend in American History Texts. By Robert S. Henry. (Reprinted from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Sept., 1945. 171-94 pp. \$1.00.)

The next brace of monographs in this parade deals with railroads. Carlton J. Corliss' *Development of Railroad Transportation in the United States* is the printing of a lecture delivered at the University of Baltimore on February 5, 1945. The author points out that railroads developed America from a country of 13,000,000 people to a nation of ten times that size in only a hundred years. Maps show that the railroad was not an eastern phenomenon. By 1840 iron rails were laid in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio. The tracks did not connect with the eastern lines. That came later, as the Midwest expanded to meet the South and East. A decade earlier, Baltimore, Maryland, and Charleston, South Carolina, were the first city terminals of common carriers, according to Mr. Corliss. There was much rivalry between the two lines. The first Baltimore & Ohio road made the initial mistake of matching a race with a horse. The locomotive lost. The engineer on the Charleston line made a different mistake. He tied down the safety valve to stop the unpleasant hissing sound caused by the steam. Others began again where he left off. Within twenty years every state in the Union but Oregon and Minnesota had a railroad. With the land grant system, begun in the 1850's mileage jumped amazingly. After 1865 the entire system was torn up to substitute steel for iron rails. The change established America's basic industry. After 1916 railroad

mileage began to decrease. Speaking of railroad operation during the war just ended, the author states with pride: "It is a remarkable thing that the railroads—with about 25,000 fewer locomotives, 600,000 fewer freight cars, and 500,000 fewer employees in World War II than they had in World War I—performed nearly double the amount of freight traffic and more than double the amount of passenger traffic performed in the first war."

The companion to this graphic booklet is a reprint of Robert S. Henry's article from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of September, 1945. The author, a railroad man himself, expresses his debt to Carlton J. Corliss. He enlarges the former writer's statement concerning the value of the land grants "given" by the government for construction. He shows that Democratic campaign propaganda in 1884 has been incorporated in many textbooks as the true picture of the railroads "squandering" the people's land. Not only has the acreage been grossly exaggerated, according to the author's figures, but the value would have remained negligible without the railroad's development of the territory. Furthermore, the government usually exacted from land-grant railroads a contract for moving government property at fifty per cent of the commercial rate, and an agreement to carry mail at eighty per cent of the rate charged by other lines. These reductions, the author states, represent "a direct monetary return far exceeding the value of the lands granted."

J. M.

The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897. By Fred A. Shannon. (Vol. V, *The Economic History of the United States*, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.: New York, 1945. xii, 434 pp. \$3.75.)

The disposal of public lands on a larger scale than the railway grants, is described in this book. Readers of Robert Henry's article will be particularly interested in the comparison. They will find completely opposite points of view. Readers will be interested, too, in the way the two authors use their figures to prove opposite cases. Some readers may object to Mr. Shannon's militant subjectivity for he is a special pleader and a good one. Perhaps this is the reason his book has a style that tastes like "more." Certainly it is unusually entertaining for a statistical study. Moreover, the pages are brightened with humor.

We are startled to learn that the homesteader got but one acre in ten during the disposal of the public domain. Does this take into consideration the fact that land continued to be homesteaded for over a generation after 1897—the termination of this study? Practical stockmen will notice minor errors in the text. The author's lack of sympathy for

their problems is noticeable and some may take offense at his inferences concerning their honesty but these personal opinions do not severely mar what must be acclaimed one of the greatest recent contributions to agricultural history.

J. M.

Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man, Mathew B. Brady. By Roy Meredith. (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1946. xiii, 368 pp. \$7.50.)

One of the attractive and striking Lincoln books of 1946 is *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man*. Roy Meredith, a professional photographer, has reproduced many of the most interesting "Brady pictures" with an artist's skill. Advertisements of this book claim that it reproduces many hitherto unpublished "Brady's." The book's excellence, however, lies in the skill with which the compiler has selected and reproduced well-known pictures. His text, derived largely from Brady's own notebooks, gives a brief biography of the famous photographer. Roy Meredith writes in technicolor. His historical facts must be read with caution, but his descriptions of Brady in the field are gems of portraiture. His account of the battle of Fredericksburg is a jewel. The reader will not soon forget the Mississippi sharpshooters who spied, through the morning fog, the horrendous sixteen-inch brass barrel of Brady's camera lens, and fired at the infernal machine; nor the picture of the battlefield, blue with the uniformed dead one day and white with their stripped bodies the next. A picture on page thirty-nine shows in the distance an old-fashioned taxicab and the blurred outline of a man on a bicycle. Surely a caption should warn the reader that this was not taken by Mathew Brady.

J. M.

Lincoln in Caricature: 165 Poster Cartoons and Drawings for the Press. Assembled and described by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. (The Primavera Press, Inc.: Elmira, N. Y., 1945. xv, 331 pp. \$7.50.)

A new book of Lincoln cartoons has been prepared by Rufus Rockwell Wilson. In 1903 Mr. Wilson published his first collection of cartoons. Ten years ago he published a book of Lincoln portraits. Now he has assembled a new volume of 165 cartoons—more than five times the number in the earlier volume. Opposite each plate is an explanation of the picture. They are arranged chronologically. The text is thus a history of Lincoln's presidency. In the introduction, Rufus Rockwell Wilson gives biographical sketches of six of the principal cartoonists.

J. M.

Directory of Collectors of Books, Autographs, Prints and Other Historical Material Relating to Abraham Lincoln. Compiled and published by Forest H. Sweet. (Battle Creek, Mich., 1946. [64] pp. \$2.00.)

We often hear it said that there are 3,000 Lincoln collectors who buy every Lincoln title published. Twenty-five hundred sales will pay the publishing costs of most books; therefore, a Lincoln book, no matter how trifling, is sure to pay its way we are told. This, according to the gossip, accounts for the great number of Lincoln books. Forest H. Sweet, dealer and collector in Battle Creek, Michigan, has exploded this time-honored myth. And he has done so unintentionally. His Lincoln collectors' directory has been published primarily as an aid to dealers and collectors. He lists 231 individuals, societies, and special libraries. Mr. Sweet admits that his list is not complete. He would like more names for a later edition. He will no doubt get them, but obviously the legion of 3,000 indefatigable collectors does not exist.

J. M.

"Congressman Abraham Lincoln." [By Thomas I. Starr.] *Extension of Remarks of Hon. George A. Dondero of Michigan in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, February 19, 1946.* (U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington, 1946. 8 pp.)

An exceedingly interesting article by Thomas I. Starr entitled "Congressman Abraham Lincoln" was printed as a separate from the remarks of Congressman George A. Dondero in the House of Representatives on February 19, 1946. All collectors of Lincolniana will want this pamphlet. They will find in it an excellent summary of Lincoln's day-by-day activities during his incumbency in the Thirtieth Congress.

J. M.

A Sublime Parallel. By Lester O. Schriver. (Peoria, Ill., 1945. [19] pp.)

This beautifully printed pamphlet by Lester O. Schriver begins with the six greatest personalities in all history, selected by H. G. Wells. Two of these are Jesus of Nazareth and Abraham Lincoln. The author lists twenty-two striking similarities in the life stories of these two men—the humbleness of their births, their common descent from carpenters, their love for children, their championship of the downtrodden, their persecution by their contemporaries, their deaths on Good Friday. Two halves—the Congregational Church at Terryville, Connecticut, and the Lincoln Memorial Building near Hodgenville, Kentucky—are tipped in as outspieces.

J. M.

An Act of the Fourth Congress to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to Preserve Peace on the Frontiers. Printed by John McCall in Detroit in 1796. A Facsimile. (The Detroit Public Library: Detroit, Mich., 1945.)

The Detroit Public Library has reprinted an act originally printed by Detroit's first known press in 1796. This attractive booklet is a facsimile of Congress' act of December 7, 1795, delineating the boundary of the Indian country. The original printing, now in the possession of the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library, is the only known copy. The press on which it was printed by John McCall is thought to have been imported from London. The facsimile is published with a foreword by Paul McPharlin.

J. M.

NEWS AND COMMENT

Students of the Civil War era in Illinois should be reminded that all entries in the Alfred W. Stern contest must be submitted by December 31, 1946. Complete details regarding the contest were given in the March issue of this quarterly.



An Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship was established by the American Historical Association in December, 1945, to aid competent scholars. A \$1,000 fellowship will be awarded annually for the best original manuscript, either completed or partially completed, on American history. Manuscripts may range from 50,000 to 125,000 words in length and must be of a scholarly nature. The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund provides for the publication of each prize-winning manuscript, and the author will receive a royalty consisting of five per cent of the retail price of the book after editorial and manufacturing costs are met. Applicants for the 1946 award must submit manuscripts by September 1, 1946. They should be addressed to Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, chairman of the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund of the American Historical Association, 208 College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania. All correspondence relating to the Fellowship should also be addressed to Professor Whitaker.



The Filson Club, with headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, is endeavoring to secure a niche in America's Hall of Fame on New York University Heights for George Rogers Clark. Their efforts to obtain proper recognition for this great American deserve success. The January, 1946, issue of *The Filson Club History Quarterly* stated:

To George Rogers Clark, more than to any other one man in history, belongs the credit for this continental spread of our people, yet his name has again been denied a niche in America's Hall of Fame on New York University Heights.

There are many names there of splendid Americans but none of them has served our country, the world, and all times better than George Rogers Clark; and none of them has wrought more heroically, in the face

of more discouragement, or conquered more "impossible" conditions. every thing was against him save his vision of his country's needs, the confidence of his followers, and his own god-like courage.



Two members of the board of the Aurora Historical Society have been conducting a poll on the downtown streets of Aurora to determine how many people know about the Society's Museum and where it is located. The results of this survey should prove interesting. In the Society's *Bulletin* for January, 1946, there is an article by Mrs. Arthur F. Muschler entitled "Plates and Palaces" which describes the plate collection on exhibit in the museum.



Miss Elizabeth Harvey gave an account of the history of education in Boone County at the February meeting of the Boone County Historical Society. The meeting was presided over by G. F. Sager, president of the Society.

At the March meeting the program was made up entirely of original songs, poems, and instrumental selections composed by Boone County residents.

Exhibits of handiwork produced by Belvidere talent were featured at the April meeting. These included such articles as a handmade loom, hooked rugs, wood carving, oil and water-color paintings, needlework, etc. J. G. Kepley presented several piano selections, and Mrs. Fannie Linderman Harling read from some of her original works.



At the February meeting of the Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County, Mrs. Grover S. Sibley, of University City, Missouri, exhibited a wedding gown worn by Felicité Janis in 1776 when she became the bride of Vital Beauvais in Kaskaskia. Mrs. Sibley also exhibited a silver ladle given to Felicité as a wedding present. Charles F. Gergen, of Cahokia, reported on Indian graves in the region.

At the Society's March meeting Mr. Gergen spoke on "The Trail of Tears," the moving of the Cherokee Indians from the Smoky Mountains to the Indian Territory. Mrs. Rhoda Brockman Little read a selection appropriate to the Lenten season, "The Dream of the Rood," an Old English Christian poem generally attributed to Cynewulf in the eighth century. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Horner were presented as the "Spot Light

Citizens of the Month." Mrs. William H. Matlack, president of the Society, announced publication in the near future of "The Cahokian," a bulletin of historical interest in St. Clair County. Mrs. R. J. Boylan presented resolutions of sympathy to be sent to the families of the late Louis Traband and Rudolph Huschle, members of the Society, the latter a trustee at the time of his death.



Officers and directors of the Chicago Lawn Historical Society (Chicago) met on March 15 to discuss plans for the annual spring tea. Richard O. Helwig, president of the Society, was chairman of the meeting.



The South Shore Historical Society (Chicago) held its spring meeting on March 13. Mrs. W. S. Whitcomb gave a talk on "Antique Coverets," illustrating her subject with an interesting display. A movie, "In the Service of America," was also shown. Mrs. Ada Robinson Kane was in charge of the program. The officers of the Society are: Arthur C. Clemenson, president; Mayme E. Gerds, vice-president; Mary Swanson Werner, recording secretary; Harry Kriewitz, treasurer.



At the March meeting of the executive board of the Woodlawn Historical Society (Chicago), Mrs. Paul I. Pierson announced the appointment of committees for the coming year. The April meeting, on "The History of War Activities," was under the direction of H. D. Jones, Miss Bernardine McLaughlin, and John Hayes.



At the March meeting of the Evanston Historical Society, Professor Tracy E. Strevey, head of the history department of Northwestern University, spoke on "The Changing Pattern of American Democracy."

Harry L. Wells spoke on "Northwestern University and Evanston" at the meeting of the Society in April.



The officers of the Glencoe Historical Society are: Christopher K. Lebe, president; Mrs. William C. Miller, vice-president; Mrs. L. I. Birdell, secretary; Daniel E. Kissam, treasurer; Miss Flo Bowman, custodian.

Committee chairmen include: Thomas M. Lothrop, membership; Mrs. Paul W. Chapin, program; Mrs. Harry D. Wiley, social; Miss Helen Beckwith, acceptance; Mrs. J. A. Grant, research; and F. L. Holmes, publicity.



The Kenilworth Historical Society plans to resume its meetings in November or December of this year. The Society has been inactive during the war years. Mrs. John F. White is eager to hear from any one who lived in Kenilworth in 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925. These persons, as well as present residents who moved to Kenilworth at least twenty years ago, are eligible for membership in the Society.



The Lee County Historical Society met on April 22. Mrs. F. A. Hanson spoke on the "History of Gas and Electricity."



At a meeting on May 4 of the Madison County Historical Society, dramatic recordings of the life of Elijah P. Lovejoy were heard, and Gilson Brown spoke on "Lovejoy and the Time in Which He Lived."

The Edwardsville branch of the Madison County Historical Society recently sponsored a program of planting dogwood and redbud trees as part of the Edwardsville beautification project and as a memorial to veterans of World War II. Miss Ella Tunnell, president of the Society, reports that approximately 3,500 trees have been ordered. The Society is planning to give a pageant to commemorate the one hundred and thirty fifth anniversary of the building of Fort Russell, three miles northwest of Edwardsville, this summer. It will be staged in a valley on the Blackmore farm which adjoins the site of the old fort. Miss R. Louise Travous is writing the dialogue.



Officers of the Maywood Historical Society are: W. L. Castleman, president; Mrs. Walter Nichols, vice-president; E. P. Benjamin, secretary; Mrs. Cecile Rhodes, treasurer; Mrs. Eda K. Westcott, chairman of Fac Finding Committee. The Society was organized in 1938 and has regular quarterly meetings.



The Morgan County Historical Society recently paid tribute to the late Dr. Carl E. Black, its president for many years. Resolutions submitted

by Ernest Hildner, Jr., chairman, Margaret K. Moore, and Clarence P. McClelland expressed the Society's appreciation of Dr. Black's services and extended sympathy to the members of his family. Dr. Black bequeathed his medical library to the Passavant Memorial Hospital. His manuscripts and papers go to the Illinois State Historical Society, and his clippings to the Morgan County Historical Society. He specified that certain volumes should be given to the Illinois College library.

Bruce E. Wheeler, of Springfield, spoke at the meeting of the Society on February 7. His topic was "The Romance of Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge."

Hugh Green, speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, addressed the April meeting of the Society, which commemorated the one hundred and twenty-first anniversary of the founding of Jacksonville. Other speakers were Ernest Hildner, Ernest L. Hoagland, John L. Conant, and Miss Margaret K. Moore.



The Peoria Historical Society gave a program entitled "Impressions of Lincoln" on February 18. Those participating were M. L. Houser, Howard C. Perkins, and Wayne C. Townley. The latter also acted as moderator.

At the March meeting of the Society, Lew P. Kelly gave personal reminiscences of Illinois River landmarks, many of which have disappeared. Frank L. Meyer presented a history of the Meyer Furnace Company from its beginning as a tin metal shop by his grandfather. John G. Zeller, former resident of Spring Bay, displayed early photographs of that town. The speakers were introduced by A. R. Buis, program chairman. Philip Becker, Jr., president, was in charge of the business session.

In April the Society had a round-table discussion about old times. Speakers who were called upon by President Philip Becker, Jr., included Miss Myrtis Evans, J. S. Frye, F. W. Bruning, and George Alfs.



A Saline County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in Harrisburg on February 21. Officers chosen are: Clarence Bonnell, president; T. Leo Dodd, vice-president; Scerial Thompson, secretary; James Bond, treasurer. Directors are: T. Leo Dodd, chairman; L. O. Trigg, Miss Alvina Shestak, Miss Frances Cummins, and Edward Bell. John W. Allen, curator of the Southern Illinois Normal Museum, addressed the meeting on the subject of "Things to be Done."

At the March 14 meeting of the Society, Franklin R. Bramlet was the speaker. He told of the coming of his forebears to Illinois and of the deer park developed by his ancestor, John Daniel Bramlet, at the Bramlet settlement between Harrisburg and Eldorado.

Guy Dean and Miss Frances Batcheldor furnished the program for the April meeting. Their subject was the Rudement and Mitchellsville settlements. Members of the first families settling in those communities were especially urged to attend.



The Southern Illinois Historical Society held its spring meeting at Eldorado on April 12. T. Leo Dodd presented a paper on "Primitive Baptist History in Southern Illinois," and Mrs. Julia Neely spoke on "Folklore of Southern Illinois." Officers elected at this meeting are: J. Ward Barnes, president; John W. Allen, first vice-president; Mrs. J. P. Schuh, second vice-president; N. W. Draper, treasurer; L. O. Trigg, L. A. Sanders, and Mary Roberson, directors for a three-year term.



The annual meeting of the Stephenson County Historical Society was held on April 2 with Harold K. Baltzer, president, in charge. The principal speaker was the Rev. Charles K. Carpenter who spoke on "Some Pages from the History of Stephenson County." The following persons were elected as directors: Mrs. J. Roy Nesbit, Sr., Miss Mabel Goddard, Smith D. Atkins, and Clyde C. Kaiser. Officers of the Society elected by the board of directors are: Harold K. Baltzer, president; J. R. Jackson and Mrs. S. E. Raines, vice-presidents; Helen L. Snyder, secretary; Clarence W. Chapman, treasurer. The Stephenson County Photographic Salon was held in the Society's museum on May 18. This exhibition was sponsored by the Freeport Camera Club.



The Winnetka Historical Society met on March 20. The program was a round-table discussion of the history of Winnetka, past, present, and future. The experts on the various periods of village history were Frank A. Windes, Eugene A. Rummler, and Mrs. John Chapin. Robert Kingery filled the role of prophet, foretelling the future of Winnetka. Norman K. Anderson is president of the Society, and Mrs. Stanley Nelson is its program chairman.

Woodstock is planning a centennial celebration this year, and the Historical Data Committee appointed by Harold Beth, president of the Woodstock Chamber of Commerce, is now gathering data on the early history of the city. Miss Laura Wandrach, chairman of this committee, has as her assistants Miss Catherine Austin and Mrs. Mamie Larsen. After the material has been compiled, Roger Hill of Todd School will write a pageant to be given at a later date.



In the last issue of this *Journal*, a list of people who joined the Illinois State Historical Society in 1945 was printed. New members who have been enrolled during the first three months of 1946 are listed below:

Adams, Harold K.....	Bloomington, Ill.	Lee, Raymond E.....	Tamaroa, Ill.
Briggs, Harold E.....	Carbondale, Ill.	Lewis, J. D.....	Pullman, Wash.
Broeker, Hugo.....	Quincy, Ill.	Lindstrom, David E.....	Urbana, Ill.
Bronson, Mr. and Mrs. Earle A.....	Evanston, Ill.	McCormick, Sister M. Medulpha.....	Belleville, Ill.
Brooks, C. Wayland.....	Washington, D.C.	Mann, J. A.....	Shelbyville, Ill.
Cline, M. Gladys.....	Litchfield, Ill.	Mansfield, W.....	Goshen, Ind.
Crawford, Mrs. L. M.....	Libertyville, Ill.	Morrow, Mabelle M.....	Peoria, Ill.
Culmer, Thad W.....	Robinson, Ill.	Neill, Mrs. Julian.....	Belleville, Ill.
Davis, Emery H.....	Anna, Ill.	Nelson, C. M.....	Chicago, Ill.
Dunbar, Dr. Louise B.....	Urbana, Ill.	Nickols, D. F.....	Lincoln, Ill.
Eskew, James W.....	Findlay, Ill.	Parr, O. L.....	Springfield, Ill.
Gilster, Albert H.....	Chester, Ill.	Perkins, Howard C.....	Peoria, Ill.
Gore, Herman R.....	Chicago, Ill.	Pitkin, William A.....	Carbondale, Ill.
Green, Mrs. Madge Miller.....	West York, Ill.	Reich, Dr. Harry.....	New York, N.Y.
Hart, W. L.....	Winona Lake, Ind.	Rew, Irwin.....	Evanston, Ill.
Howell, C. B.....	Kankakee, Ill.	Riddle, Dr. Donald W.....	Cambridge, Mass.
Kemp, L. A.....	Evanston, Ill.	Smith, Clyde L.....	Carbondale, Ill.
Kennish, Fred H.....	Kewanee, Ill.	Stephens, Robert A., Jr.....	Springfield, Ill.
Kircher, Theodore E.....	Belleville, Ill.	Thompson, Scerial.....	Harrisburg, Ill.
Kusche, Glen D.....	Madison, Wis.	Turner, A. N.....	Ina, Ill.
May, Chester F.....	Carbondale, Ill.	Walker, J. V.....	Herrin, Ill.
Mayman, T. J.....	Benton, Ill.	Wasson, Fred H.....	Carrier Mills, Ill.
McBlanc, Bertrand.....	Santa Barbara, Calif.	Wheeler, Bruce.....	Springfield, Ill.
		White, John C.....	Springfield, Ill.
		Zeigler, Sam A.....	Carmi, Ill.

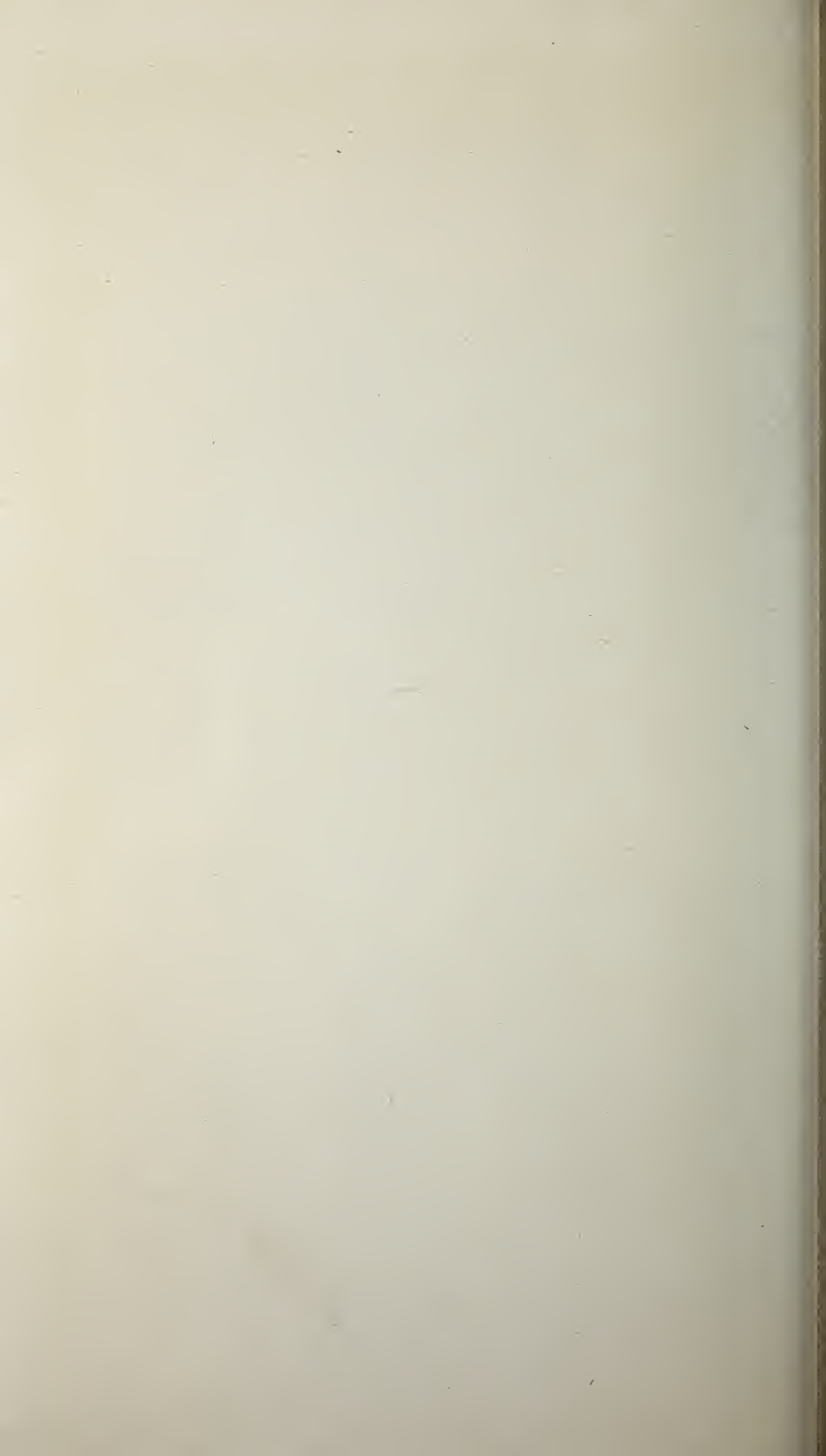
The Society is indebted to its membership committee, John Valentine of Decatur, Barbara Burr Hubbs of Chicago, and O. Fritiof Ander of Rock Island, for its work. The interest and assistance of various other members and friends of the Society has also been responsible for the addition of many new names. We are listing below all people who helped secure new members for the Illinois State Historical Society during the twelve months ending with April 20, 1946. We hope that these friends

will continue their good work and that other members will join with them in an effort to build up a large membership before the Society's annual meeting next October.

- Abbott, Fidelia N. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Aldrich, Frank W. Bloomington, Ill.
 Ander, O. Fritiof. Rock Island, Ill.
 Angle, Paul M. Chicago, Ill.
 Applegate, L. B. Bloomington, Ill.
 Auld, Dr. Frank P. Shelbyville, Ill.
- Bellows, Mrs. Clara O. Sterling, Ill.
 Berdahl, Clarence A. Urbana, Ill.
 Bjorkstrom, Erik Rockford, Ill.
 Bohrer, Florence Fifer Bloomington, Ill.
- Campbell, F. G. Chicago, Ill.
 Carr, George R. Chicago, Ill.
 Chada, Joseph Chicago, Ill.
 Conger, J. L. Galesburg, Ill.
 Cramer, Ambrose C. Washington, D.C.
 Cushman, Mrs. J. L. New York, N.Y.
 Cutler, Henry E. Chicago, Ill.
- Dansey, Mrs. M. Bruington . . . Chicago, Ill.
 Davenport, Richard C. Harrisburg, Ill.
 Dorr, Mrs. Otto Chandlerville, Ill.
 Draper, N. W. Carbondale, Ill.
 Dudley, Mrs. Gerry B. Charleston, Ill.
 Dukes, E. L. Albion, Ill.
 Dunham, William H. Evanston, Ill.
- Edmunds, Palmer D. LaHogue, Ill.
 Eich, John C. Chicago, Ill.
- Fleming, Joseph B. Lake Forest, Ill.
 Frank, Seymour J. Chicago, Ill.
 Foster, W. H. Eureka, Ill.
 Fox, Jacob Logan Chicago, Ill.
 Fuller, S. S. Riverside, Ill.
- Gertz, Elmer Chicago, Ill.
 Golden, Harry G. Richmond, Ind.
 Griffith, Will Carbondale, Ill.
- Hagenson, Clifford H. Rossville, Ill.
 Halbert, William Belleville, Ill.
 Heintz, Frank J. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Hendrickson, Walter B. Jacksonville, Ill.
 Howes, Wright Chicago, Ill.
 Hubbs, Barbara Burr Chicago, Ill.
 Hultgren, Mrs. Barbara Galva, Ill.
 Hynds, William I. Morris, Ill.
- Iben, Icko Springfield, Ill.
- Johnson, Mrs. P. K. Belleville, Ill.
 Jones, C. A. Columbus, Ohio
- Karraker, O. M. Dongola, Ill.
 Kirk, Mrs. C. B. Mansfield, Ill.
- Knapp, Mrs. Charles E. Springfield, Ill.
- Lagerstrom, Carl Rockford, Ill.
 Lansden, Emma L. Cairo, Ill.
 Lemon, F. K. Clinton, Ill.
- Malone, Mrs. Thomas R. Boone, Colo.
 Mason, Joseph Washington, D.C.
 McClelland, Clarence P. Jacksonville, Ill.
 McKibbin, Mrs. George B. . . . Chicago, Ill.
 Miller, Herbert Lane Danville, Ill.
 Moody, E. G. Oak Park, Ill.
- Nedwick, Jerrold Chicago, Ill.
- Owens, Harry J. Flossmoor, Ill.
- Perrow, Arthur Chicago, Ill.
 Pfeifferberger, Mather Alton, Ill.
 Piersel, W. G. Springfield, Ill.
 Pierson, David R. Chicago, Ill.
 Pollock, Mrs. H. Y. Dixon, Ill.
 Pyle, Claude W. Sidell, Ill.
- Ramsdell, Mrs. B. F. Geneva, Ill.
 Randall, J. G. Urbana, Ill.
 Ray, Jerome V. Dixon, Ill.
 Reinheimer, Pearl M. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Remer, Theodore G. Chicago, Ill.
 Reynolds, Mrs. F. W. East St. Louis, Ill.
 Roemer, Erwin W. River Forest, Ill.
 Runyan, O. H. Chicago, Ill.
- Sandeson, Ruth Danville, Ill.
 Sausaman, W. A. Springfield, Ill.
 Schmidt, Ernst C. Chicago, Ill.
 Schott, J. F. C. Quincy, Ill.
 Sewell, Harry A. Chicago, Ill.
 Sievers, Mrs. Glenn L. Bluffs, Ill.
 Skaggs, Lucretia Lincoln, Ill.
 Slater, R. C. LaSalle, Ill.
 Solberg, Marshall Chicago, Ill.
 Stevenson, C. R. Carbondale, Ill.
 Storer, Harold W. Chicago, Ill.
 Sturdy, Guy St. Louis, Mo.
 Sweet, Forest H. Battle Creek, Mich.
- Townley, Wayne C. Bloomington, Ill.
 Turner, Lynn W. Monmouth, Ill.
- Valentine, John Decatur, Ill.
 Van Meter, Craig Mattoon, Ill.
- Ward, P. H. Sterling, Ill.
 Weillepp, Carl N. Decatur, Ill.
 Wheeler, Mrs. W. A. Albion, Ill.
 Woltersdor, Arthur Chicago, Ill.

CONTRIBUTORS

Harold E. Briggs is Chairman of the Department of History at Southern Illinois Normal University. Ernestine Bennett Briggs, his wife, was formerly an Instructor in Education at the University of Missouri and the University of Miami. Their paper on the early theater in Chicago was taken from a part of a forthcoming book on the history of the frontier theater. . . . John E. Kehoe (1867-1934) began his law career in the office of the late Governor John M. Palmer in Springfield. He moved to Chicago in 1893 and spent the remainder of his life in practice in that city, where he was known as an outstanding trial lawyer. . . . O. Fritiof Ander is Head of the Department of History at Augustana College and a Director of the Illinois State Historical Society. . . . Jay Monaghan is State Historian of Illinois and the Editor of this *Journal*.



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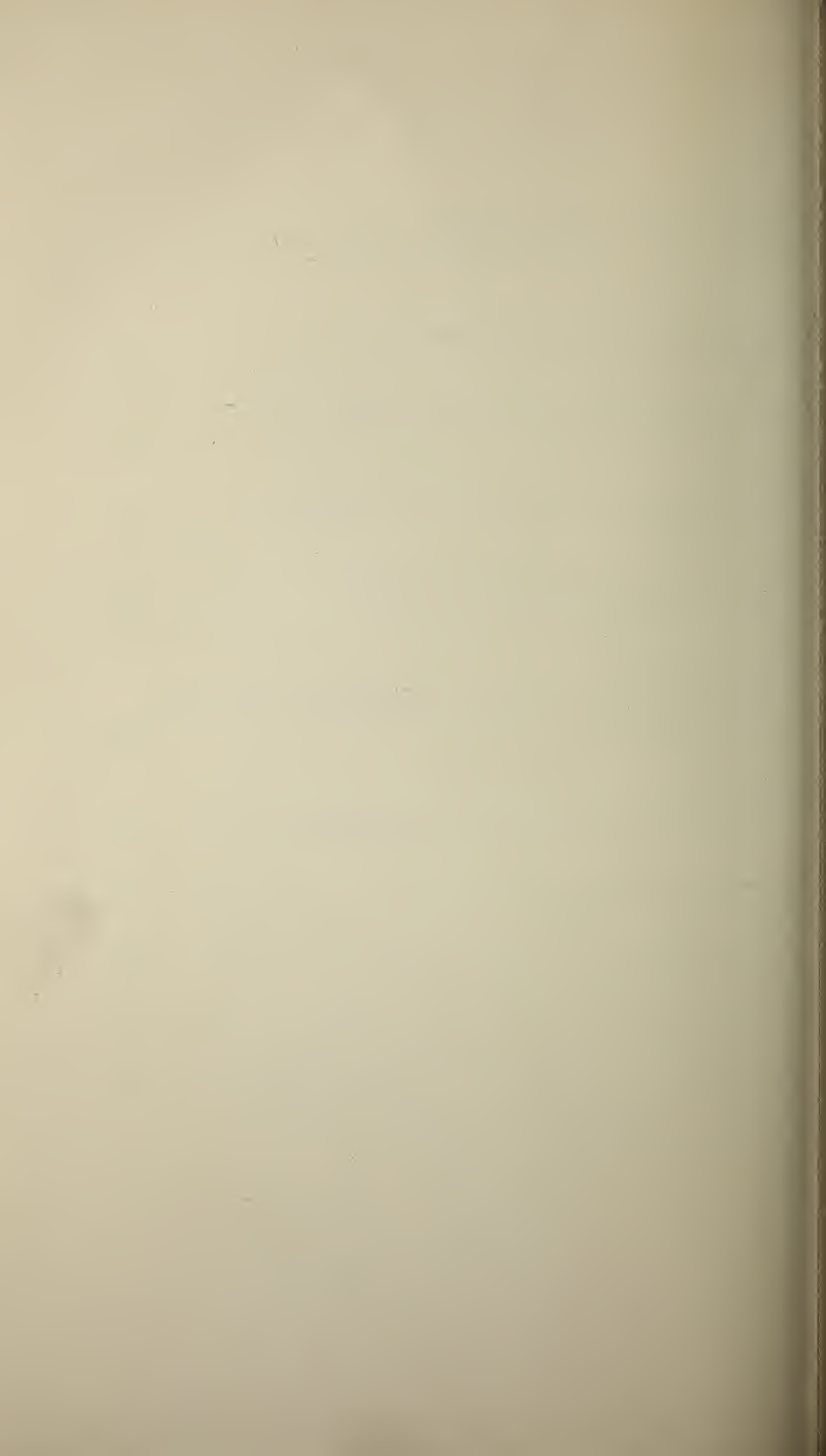
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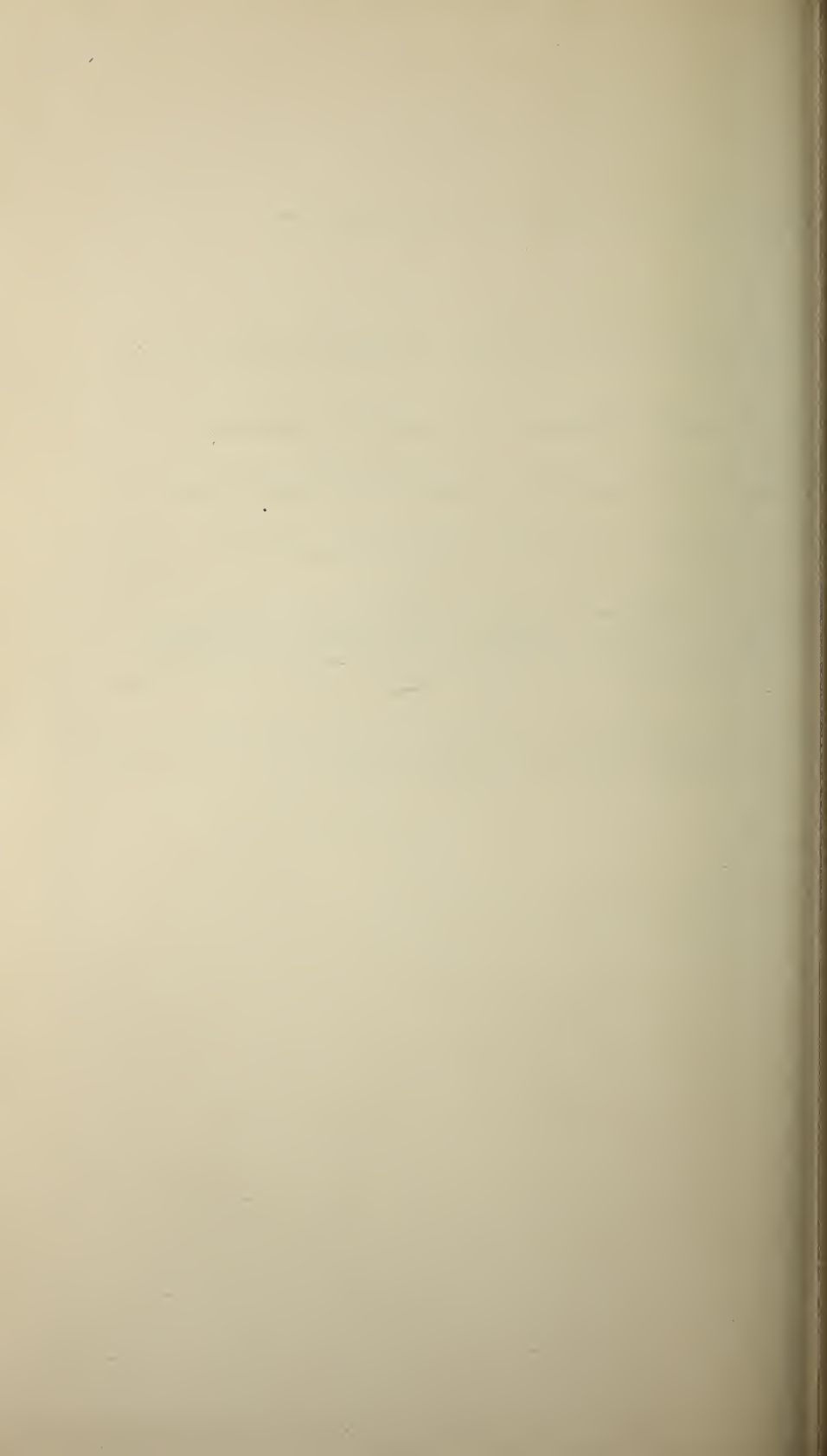
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BEGINNINGS OF ARCHITECTURE IN ILLINOIS*

BY REXFORD NEWCOMB

THE state of Illinois has made significant contributions to architectural progress in America. When one remembers that the two principal structural systems upon which American architecture has depended during the last century were developed in our state, it becomes evident that here significant initial events have taken place. These structural systems were the wooden *balloon* frame and the *steel* frame.

The first of these was invented by George Washington Snow (1797-1870), a native of Keene, New Hampshire, who came to Chicago during the summer of 1832 and in time became an influential lumber merchant in the budding metropolis.¹ The great problem for the settler upon the almost treeless prairies of Illinois was to get enough timber with which to build a habitation. The log cabin of the wooded areas was, of course, out of the question, as was likewise the heavy-timbered house of current typical construction. Sensing the need of a type of ready construction, less wasteful of precious timber, Snow invented the so-called balloon type of frame construction which spread over the prairies and in time became the typical constructive scheme for most American light timber buildings.

Previous to this time, American houses were framed of hewn or sawn timbers, mortised, tenoned, and pinned together with oaken dowels. The frames for these houses were gener-

* This talk was given at the Annual Meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society in Springfield on October 3, 1945.

¹ *Industrial Chicago* (Chicago, 1894), III:196-99.

ally assembled upon the ground, then "raised" into place and pinned together. In early colonial times the spaces between these timbers were filled with "wattle-and-daub," a kind of wooden wickerwork daubed with clay, but more frequently with "cats" of clay and straw. Sometimes unburned, and upon occasion, burned bricks were used, the resulting "half-timber" wall being given an exterior dressing of whitewash.

But such construction, perhaps satisfactory enough in the less rigorous climate of old England, was not at all adapted to the rougher weather of New England. Therefore, builders contrived a water-and-wind-safe covering in the form of clapboards which at first they rived, and later sawed, from fine old New England white pine. This covering was universally adopted and became an important feature of American wooden architecture. Made in long lengths in sawmills, these clapboards in time became the "weatherboarding" or "siding" of our day.

Snow did not attempt to change the exterior appearance of the American house. He was mainly interested in economizing upon the wood that went into the frame and in the spacing of the smaller timbers which were used to make a more uniform wall, floor, and roof surface. Whereas the heavier timbers had to be mortised, tenoned, and pinned together, Snow relied upon the metal nail to hold the balloon frame together.

Of course, I am aware that there has been considerable controversy as to whether or not the credit for the invention of the balloon frame should go to Snow. Walker Field, in his paper,² following a research of the subject, feels that the credit should go to Augustine Deodat Taylor, of Hartford, Connecticut, who came to Chicago in June, 1833. Taylor was the builder of St. Mary's Catholic Church, the first authenticated structure built upon this system. We are not here interested in this controversy, since whatever happened took place in Chi-

² Walker Field, "A Re-examination into the Invention of the Balloon Frame," *Journal of the American Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. II, no. 4 (Oct., 1942), 3-29.



Photo by Rexford Newcomb



Photo by Carl Miller

UPPER—ONSTOT'S COOPER SHOP, NEW SALEM.

LOWER—PIERRE MENARD HOME, NEAR CHESTER.



ago. However, a few other facts about Snow may not be out of place. He was town surveyor in Chicago in 1833 and presumably embarked upon his career in the city's lumber trade the next year. He was identified with Chicago and its business development until his death in 1870. If St. Mary's Church was the first balloon frame, the date of its origin is July-October, 1833. We do know, however, that the system commended itself and was, from the middle thirties, used in the construction of the frame buildings that were erected in great numbers in the rapidly growing town.

John M. Van Osdel, Chicago's first professional architect, came in 1837. In an article later contributed to the *Inland Architect* describing Chicago as he first knew it, Van Osdel said:

Among the very few buildings that made any pretensions to architectural ornament were the residences of W. H. Brown and John Kinzie in the North Division and Dr. John T. Temple and George W. Snow in the South Division. Mr. Snow was the inventor of the "balloon frame" method of constructing wooden buildings, which in this city, completely superseded the old style of framing with posts, girts, beams, and braces. The great rapidity in the construction and the large saving in cost, compared with the old fashioned frame, brought the "balloon frame" into general use.³

At least here is a contemporary of Snow's, an informed contemporary, who fully credits Snow with this invention. One can scarcely conceive an architect, a professional builder, to be in error upon a point so central to his interest. Van Osdel was an early member of the board of trustees of the Illinois Industrial University, now the University of Illinois, and was the architect of old University Hall, removed in 1938 to make room for the present Illini Union.

A great factor in the dissemination of knowledge about his newer method of wood construction was its advocacy by Colonel Robinson of Indiana who, through addresses before

³ John M. Van Osdel, "The History of Chicago Architecture," *Inland Architect*, Vol. I, p. 3, 36 ff.

farmers' institutes and articles in agricultural papers, taught farm people and others how to build this type of house.⁴ Robinson had settled on Grand Prairie in Indiana in the fall of 1834 and founded the town of Crown Point. He had formerly lived at Madison, Indiana, on the Ohio River. He was an enterprising individual, alert to new developments in agriculture and widely traveled. There is evidence that he was in Chicago shortly after his settlement in northern Indiana and that he was among the first to employ and publicize the balloon frame. The *New York Daily Tribune* for January 5, 1855, made the following comment on an address he gave before the American Institute Farmers' Club:

[He] gave a very full description of the manner of building balloon frames and denounced the plan of tenons and mortises in ordinary small houses or other necessary farm buildings, as one of the most absurd remains of old fogyism in existence. . . . Nearly all the frame buildings in Chicago, and in all the surrounding country, are built in the way he described.

So much for the wooden frame. The invention of the steel frame, measured in terms of its influence upon American architecture, was equally important. Its development, which made possible the "skyscraper," was participated in by three prominent firms of architects who, faced with the problem of housing the growing business interests of the developing city of Chicago, turned to the multiple-storied structure. The heads of these firms and the men most importantly associated with this development were: William Holabird, William Le Baron Jenney, and Daniel H. Burnham.

Before 1883, masonry structures were of the wall-bearing type. If intermediate supports were needed, bearing-walls or cast-iron columns, bearing-girders, were inserted. These walls or the girders, supported the joists which in turn carried the floors. To be sure, iron beams and various reinforcements o

⁴ Solon Robinson, "A Cheap Farm-House," *American Agriculturist*, Vol. V, no. 2 (Feb. 1846), 57-58; Vol. VI, no. 7 (July, 1847), 216-18; *New York Daily Tribune*, Jan. 18, 1855.

wooden beams were used, but the more usual construction was of the type just described.

The events that led up to the final development of the steel frame reach back a good many years, in fact almost a century, when cast iron and wrought iron first began to be used in European buildings. Perhaps the earliest American forerunner of the Chicago development was the use of wrought-iron floor beams in the Harper & Brothers building on Franklin Square in New York in 1855. A second event that foretokened the "skyscraper" was the invention of the passenger elevator. The first of these contrivances was installed in 1859 in the new Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York. The use of metal as a structural material, and the invention of the elevator were preliminary conditions to the tall building.

In the immediate wake of the adaptation of iron in American building came the hideous cast-iron fronts, and cast-iron interior columns. The employment of hollow tile for floor construction was patented in 1871. All these expedients lightened the weight of buildings but, in spite of this fact, foundation problems on the marshy soil of Chicago were difficult. In the ten-storied Montauk Building, designed by Daniel H. Burnham and John Root in 1887, practically all the basement space was required for the spread footings necessary to support the walls and piers.

Late in 1883, William LeBaron Jenney was commissioned to design the Home Insurance Building. In this edifice, for the first time in history, Jenney carried the weight of his structure not upon the masonry walls but upon a skeleton framework of iron concealed within the masonry walls—cast-iron columns and wrought-iron I-beams, the beams bolted to the columns with angle-iron brackets. While this building was under construction the Carnegie-Phipps Steel Company of Pittsburgh turned out the first of its Bessemer steel beams and asked permission to substitute these for iron in the floors above the sixth.

This agreed to, the work proceeded with steel in the upper stories. Thus the Home Insurance Building in Chicago became the first of all skyscrapers and the pregenitor of a great company that was to culminate with New York's Empire State Building.

The next step in skyscraper development was made in the twelve-storied Rookery Building when Burnham and Root substituted steel grillage foundations, set in concrete, for the bulky masonry footings that had heretofore consumed so much basement space. The next step came in William Holabird and Martin Roche's fourteen-storied Tacoma Building in 1887. Here the architects, in collaboration with Corydon T. Purdy and Lightner Henderson, engineers, combined and improved upon the achievements of Jenney and Burnham. The outer walls on the street frontages became merely curtains of brick and terra cotta, carried at each floor by steel spandrels attached to the cast-iron columns. This meant that the masons could now begin to lay up the walls at any point between the grade line and the roof. The Tacoma Building was the first structure ever built with an outer wall which carried no burden and served no structural purpose other than to shut out the weather. The rear walls, however, were still of masonry and self-supporting.

The completion of the true skeleton steel frame—one in which rolled steel beams and built-in columns were used—came in Burnham and Root's Rand-McNally Building in 1889. Jenney's Leiter Building, erected soon afterward, was the first in which no self-supporting wall was employed. In 1890, Burnham and Root designed the Masonic Temple, twenty-one stories of steel on spread foundations—the highest building in existence. Visitors to the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 considered it an eighth wonder of the world.

But Chicago architects were not interested in structural systems alone. As Illinois made significant contributions to

structural progress, likewise she made significant contributions to aesthetic achievement. In addition to those named above, John Wellborn Root of Burnham & Root, Louis Sullivan of Adler & Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and various others have made their contributions to the aesthetic solution of the tall building. Thus, this "ugly duckling" of the mechanical age has become truly a thing of beauty.

While these structural systems are indeed beginnings—"firsts" of which every Illinois citizen should be proud—I had thought I should discuss the earliest "firsts," the beginnings of architecture in the Illinois Country.

When one scans the *Jesuit Relations* for some information regarding the nature of the early shelters built by the French along the routes of Marquette and Jolliet, or of La Salle and Pontrevert, he searches in vain. The labors of the missionaries are set forth in detail, but little or nothing is given us regarding the shelters erected by these men and the soldiers who accompanied them. To be sure, we read now and again of "rude shelters of poles," or of "small chapels of bark," but from such data anything like an authentic restoration would be impossible. Our knowledge of the structures of Fort St. Louis on Charlevoix Island and Fort Crèvecoeur⁵ at the lower end of Lake Michigan is indeed sketchy, although several writers discourse at length as to what occurred at these early Illinois outposts.

The first European buildings in the Illinois Country to be considered permanent were those erected at the villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. Kaskaskia has been completely erased from the face of the earth by a whim of the "Father of Waters," and Cahokia has been almost as surely obliterated by the flood of industry. Indeed, if today one wants to study the old French types of the American Bottom, he must cross the Mississippi to the pleasant little town of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, where ten or a dozen French-built homes remain. These, in

⁵ An article by Arthur Lagron in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for January, 1913 (Vol. 4, pp. 451-57) describes Fort Crèvecoeur in some detail.

spite of American renovations and "improvements," still retain enough of their native traits to mark them as exotic in their present surroundings. But with these examples before us, and with the information to be gleaned from the old French records of Kaskaskia, now preserved in the courthouse at Chester, it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the old French towns and the life that was lived in them.

Miss Natalia Belting, of the University of Illinois, in her doctoral thesis, "Kaskaskia under the French Régime,"⁶ unearthed much information bearing upon craftsmen, building contracts, and other aspects of the architecture of this lost village. Then, too, there are the accounts of visitors like Philip Pittman (1766), Edmund Flagg (1838), and others who have left us descriptions of these towns at various periods of their development.

Kaskaskia was already over sixty years old when Pittman visited the country during the British occupation. Of the ancient town he wrote:

[It is] by far the most considerable settlement in the country of the Illinois. . . . The principal buildings are the church and jesuits house which has a small chapel adjoining to it; these, as well as some other houses in the village, . . . built of stone, . . . make a very good appearance.

Kaskaskia apparently grew without a preconceived plan. The early houses stood three or four hundred feet from the river's edge, and the streets extended as demand required. The original church, built by the Jesuits near the center of the town, was, like most of the houses in the place, constructed of wooden posts set in the ground, with a roof of thatch. A later building, completed in 1753, seems also to have been a wooden structure. It measured a hundred and four by forty-four feet upon the ground. We do not have a description of this church.

⁶ Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1940.

⁷ Philip Pittman, *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* . . . (London, 1770), 42-43.

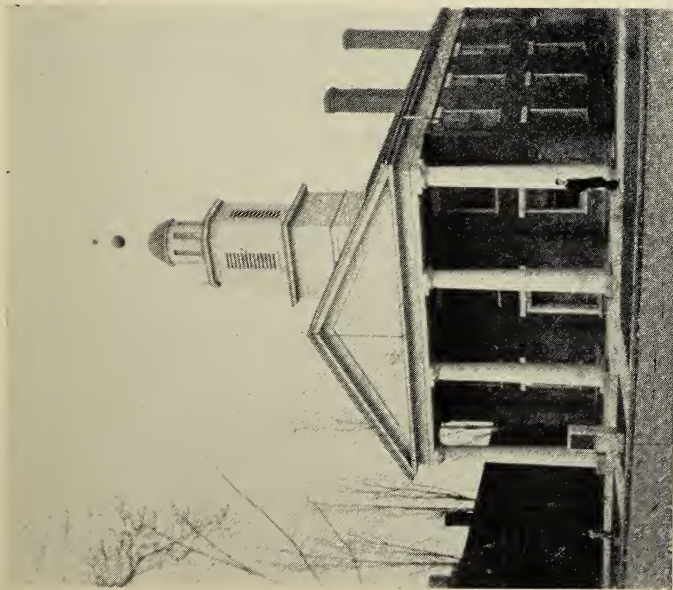


Photo by Rexford Newcomb

LEFT—OLD COURTHOUSE, METAMORA.

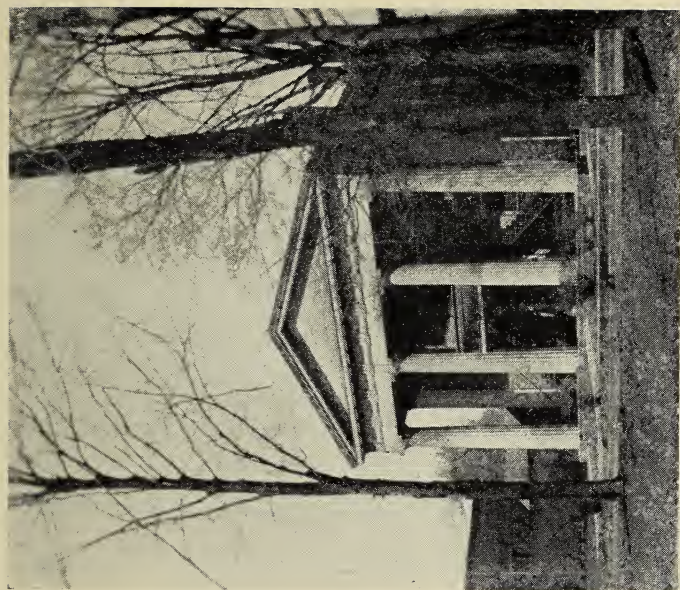
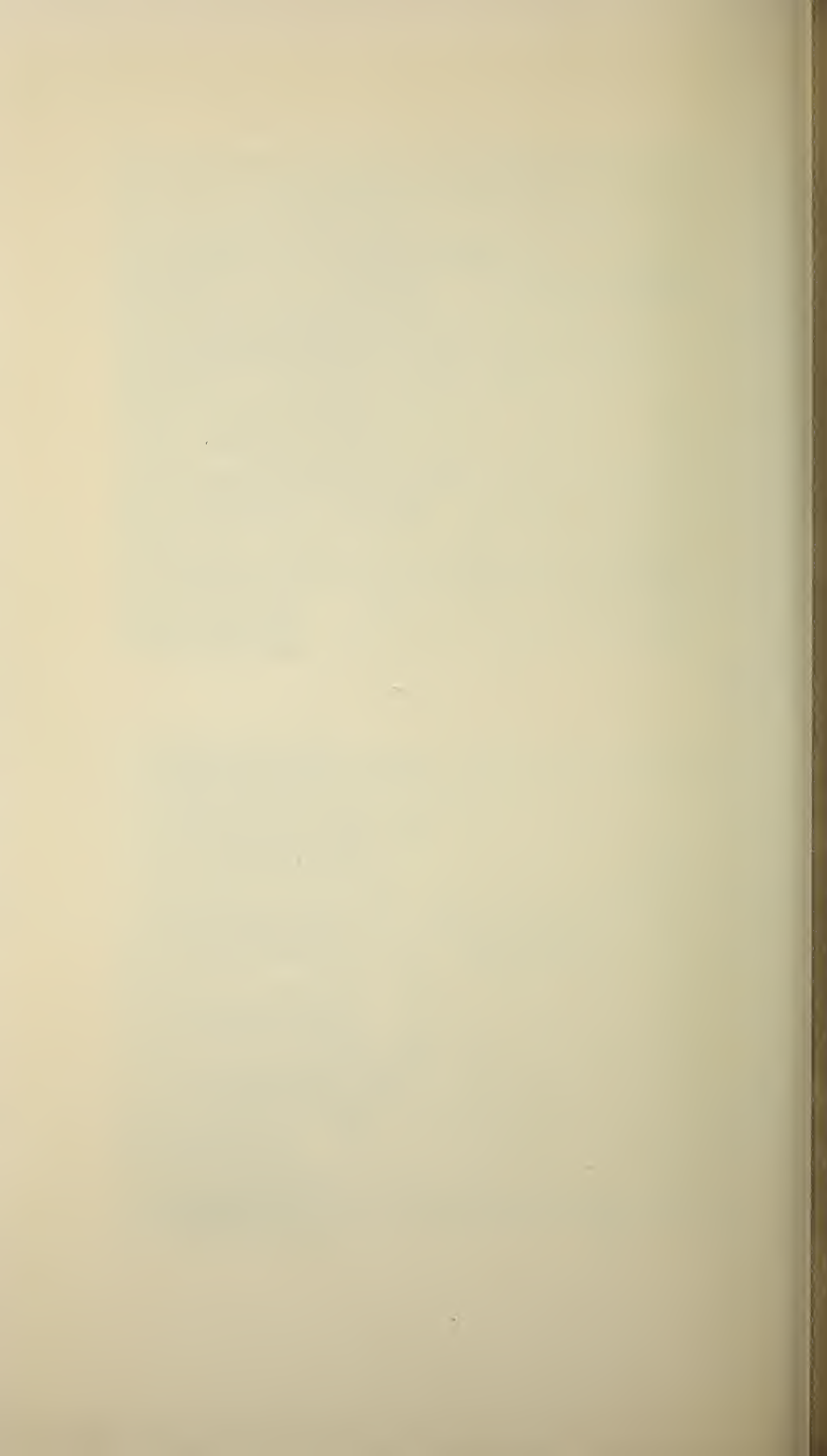


Photo by Rexford Newcomb

RIGHT—OLD COURTHOUSE, KNOXVILLE.



in its prime. Macarty reported it "a pretty one for the place."⁸ By 1836, it had fallen into disrepair, and Flagg described it thus:

[It is] a huge old pile, extremely awkward and ungainly, with its projecting eaves, its walls of hewn timber perpendicularly planted, and the interstices stuffed with mortar, with its quaint oldfashioned spire, and its dark, storm-beaten casements. The interior of the edifice is somewhat imposing. . . . But the structure of the *roof* is the most remarkable feature of this venerable edifice. . . . There are frames of two distinct roofs, of massive workmanship, neatly united, comprising a vast number of rafters, . . . and braces, crossing each other at every angle and so ingeniously . . . arranged by the architect, that it is mathematically impossible that any portion of the structure shall sink until time with a single blow shall level the entire edifice.⁹

Adjacent to the church was the cemetery, and across the street the Jesuit College above mentioned. About these buildings stood the houses of the town. These French cottages were extremely simple in arrangement, consisting, for the most part, of a row of non-communicating rooms opening upon a porch, or *galerie*, that extended across the long side of the building. Often such *galeries* were placed at both front and rear and, upon occasion, they completely surrounded the house. The main roof was flared out to cover these *galeries*.

The *galerie* is sometimes said to have been introduced through Louisiana from the West Indies. To me, however, it appears the logical adaptation to a milder climate of a feature earlier exhibited by the French architecture of Canada whence came the early settlers of the American Bottom. Ramsay Traquair of McGill University points out that "bell cast" roofs and *galeries* were traits of French-Canadian domestic architecture.¹⁰ He says:

[Unsupported eaves] sometimes stretch out over two feet from the walls and this necessarily led to the large curling bell cast at the bottom

⁸ Natalia Maree Belting, "Kaskaskia under the French Régime" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1940), 27. Commandant Richard Macarty was sent to Kaskaskia in 1750 to relieve Benoist de St. Claire.

⁹ Edmund Flagg, *The Far West: or, A Tour Beyond the Mountains* . . . (New York, 1838), 172-73.

¹⁰ "Old Architecture of French Canada," *Queen's Quarterly* (Autumn, 1931), 595-96.

of the roof. . . . Soon the eaves projected so that posts have to be put up to support them and the verandah house is the result.

In the larger houses the verandahs were often double; in the Ottawa valley type they are carried all 'round the house.¹¹

Thus, it will be seen that the French colonists who migrated to the Illinois Country must have been familiar with the *galerie*, a shade-producing expedient which proved of even greater value in the warmer climate of the American Bottom. Victor Collot¹² delineated the French house in his writings, and existing houses in Ste. Genevieve illustrate the "belcast" roof and the *galerie* in its various shapes.

Inside walls were generally plastered and whitewashed, the ceilings being left open to show the beams. A partition across the end of one room provided sleeping *cabinets*. In the homes of the poorer *habitants*, the kitchen was within the main house, but in the wealthier establishments it was a detached structure. In all cases summer baking was done in an outdoor oven. Other outbuildings included the stable, slaves' quarters, pigsty, chicken house, and perhaps a dovecote. These, together with vegetable garden and orchard, were surrounded either by high palisades made of posts, or by stone walls. Most of the wooden houses in the American Bottom were constructed of posts set in the ground, but upon occasion a sill was inserted beneath the posts, making a more durable structure since logs set in the ground often rotted. The interstices between the logs, whether set in the ground or upon a sill, were filled with clay and grass or with stones and mortar.

Many of the *habitants* were acquainted with stone construction, either in France or in Canada. It was only natural, therefore, that some stone buildings should be built in the Illinois Country. In the old French records we learn of two-story houses of stone, indeed even of a three-storyed house, "built b

¹¹ Ramsay Traquair, *The Cottages of Quebec* (Montreal, 1926), 14.

¹² Georges Henri Victor Collot, *A Journey in North America* . . . (Paris, 1826). Two volumes and atlas.

Louis Turpin which François Vallé bought for 1700 livres from Turpin's Estate . . . January 30, 1786."¹³

Of the public structures in the American Bottom only two remain, the old Church of the Holy Family (1799) at Cahokia, a structure of vertical timber covered with American siding, and the courthouse in the same village, originally built as a residence for the Saucier family. The courthouse, recently returned from Jackson Park in Chicago, has been restored by the state.

With the settlement of Illinois by Americans from the Atlantic seaboard, Anglo-Saxon forms reached our state. In general there were two lines of migration, one coming from the old south via the Cumberland Gap, Kentucky, and the Ohio River, the other, somewhat later, from New England via the Great Lakes, and after 1825, in part, by way of the Erie Canal. To be sure, these settlers could not immediately build houses like those they had known in their home states. Therefore they depended, particularly in wooded areas where our earliest settlers lived, upon the log cabin. This type, originally introduced into this country by the Swedes who settled on the Delaware, was passed on to the Pennsylvania Germans, the Scotch-Irish, and other social groups who formed a large part of the early emigration to Illinois. The log cabin became so common a form and so much a part of the American scene that many assumed that it had come in with our English ancestors. Indeed, reputable writers of history pictured our New England forefathers as living in log cabins. As a matter of fact, the English were totally ignorant of such construction until they received it at the hands of the Swedes.

There were, of course, all sorts of log cabins, some expertly fashioned by competent woodsmen who could make an axe do their bidding, some indifferently made and little better than rude, mud-daubed cribs. From the simplest one-room

¹³ Belting, "Kaskaskia under the French Régime," 38.

cabin to the two-storied double cabin, with or without a lean-to or an "L," there was a direct evolution. The one-room cabin was often duplicated on either side of an open or "dog trot" porch to form a double cabin. This porch, correctly oriented, was the most comfortable spot on an early Illinois farm in warm weather and was used as an additional room. Here were kept the water pail, the wash basin, the comb and glass, and the family towel. Here many household chores were performed. It was an open-air sitting room and sometimes also a summer dining room.

When two-storied cabins were built the space above the "dog trot" was framed in as living space, the "dog trot" becoming an open lower hall. When such houses were later covered with siding, as was often the case, the "dog trot" was boxed in and supplied with front and rear entrances—thus becoming a true lower hall. Many houses that today appear to be frame houses are simply log structures finished inside and out with conventional coverings.

An excellent village of log construction may be seen at New Salem State Park, where careful archaeology, combined with historical research, has reproduced the village environment of the 1830's. Furnished with the household equipment of the day, the interiors, with their rough walls and puncheon floors, successfully create the atmosphere in which our forefathers lived.

With the opening of sawmills, the building of brickyards, and the quarrying of stone, materials other than logs became available to Illinois settlers who by this time turned their attention toward the task of building better houses. Those from the South, remembering old homes in Virginia or Kentucky, longed to build habitations like the ones which they had known in their home states. Those from the North built largely in the vernacular of New England. These two streams of settlement met about midway in Illinois, north and south. Ar



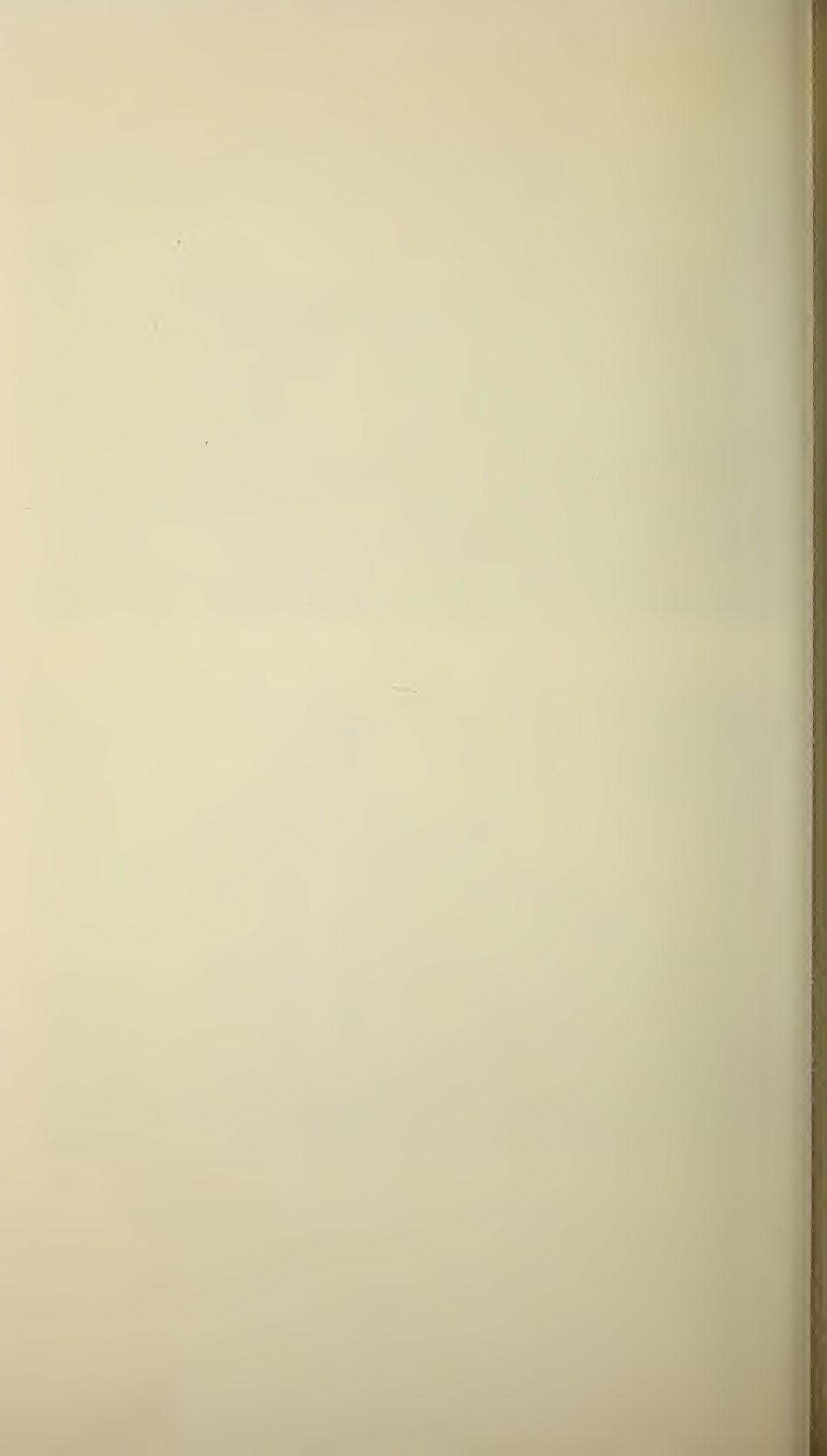
Photo by Rexford Newcomb



Photo by Carl Miller

UPPER—BEECHER HALL, ILLINOIS COLLEGE.

LOWER—GOVERNOR WOOD HOME, QUINCY.



examination of the older architecture above and below the old National Road—a line running through Terre Haute, Vandalia, and St. Louis—will reveal marked contrasts as between *southern* and *northern* forms. However, Yankees settled at many isolated points in southern Illinois, and Southerners often came to live in central and northern Illinois. Early Springfield, Jacksonville, and Galena are examples of the latter.

An Illinois home of definite Southern lineage is the Nicholas Jarrot house constructed about 1800 at Cahokia, and recently restored to something of its pristine condition.¹⁴ Although the wealthy Jarrot was a Frenchman, when he built his "Mansion House" he built in the current American Federal style. Another house of similar lineage, though not so old, is "Elm Grove" (1835) in Duncan Park at Jacksonville. In her diary, Mrs. Duncan said that the plan and interiors of "Elm Grove" were modeled after those of the home of her sister in Washington, D. C., the exterior after Governor Duncan's old home at Paris, Kentucky.

But these houses do not possess the open portico and other sun-begotten traits exhibited by the Eldridge S. Janney house at Marshall, the Governor John Wood house (now the home of the Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County) in Quincy, or the General John Corson Smith, the Joseph P. Hoge, the John Dowling, or the Elihu Benjamin Washburne houses in Galena.

Though lacking something in refinement, the Janney house presents an open, two-storied Greek Revival portico with a gallery at the second-story level. Every line of this motif, recessed, as it is, into the house proper, indicates an adaptation to a far more genial climate than Illinois affords. It is a Southern motif far out of its usual habitat.

A somewhat similar observation might be made of the

¹⁴ Guy Study, "Oliver Parks Restores the Jarrot Mansion at Cahokia," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXVIII, no. 3 (Sept., 1945), 351-53.

Governor Wood house which, with its gleaming Doric columns, its second-floor balcony, and the large oval window in its pediment, would look far more at home in Kentucky or Virginia. The same applies to the fine old temple-type house opposite the courthouse square in Quincy, now used as an office by the telephone company.

With the opening of the lead mines in the Galena area, Southerners moved in, leaving their impress by the introduction of slaves, Southern manners, and Southern architecture. While many structures in Galena clearly indicate Yankee lineage, a considerable number of the finer old houses as insistently announce their Southern extraction. Most of these, mainly of brick, are of the Greek Revival style, with the addition of wrought-iron rails and balconies which could be brought from the South by river, as were many other material items of their culture. Set atop a terrace and against a sidehill, the Dowling house, with its two-storied Ionic portico, makes a lovely picture. The Washburne house, with its portico in Doric architecture, in quite a different setting, is equally interesting. These houses were built for leisurely and graceful living.

Through southern Illinois are scattered houses exhibiting unmistakable Southern traits. Particularly along the Ohio, at such places as Cairo and Shawneetown, Southern influence predominates. Symmetrical plans, wide halls, high ceilings, detached kitchens, smokehouses, and other outbuildings, and two-storied open galleries are traits easily identified. Occasionally a public building like the Appellate Court Building (1854) at Mount Vernon, exhibits Southern derivation. Here a symmetrical Greek Revival structure is fronted by a graceful double staircase of iron in the true Charlestonian manner.

Another group of Illinois public buildings of suspected Southern origin is a series of courthouses, no single example of which is standing today. Prior to the 1870's two general types

of courthouse were erected in Illinois: (A) a square, two-storied brick building with a hipped roof crowned by a cupola, and (B) the typical Greek Revival temple, with or without a cupola. The route by which this first type of structure reached Illinois is not quite plain, but it is more than likely that precedent for it was set early in the Virginia Military Reserve of Ohio, that it passed on to Indiana, and from there reached Illinois. The first Ohio capitol at Chillicothe (1800) was of this form, as were the second Indiana capitol at Corydon (1813) and the old Marion County Courthouse, once used as the capitol, at Indianapolis (1823). Beyond the Ohio, excellent representatives of the type are found in Virginia and Maryland, that at Easton in the latter state (1794) being a particularly beautiful example.

One of the most interesting of this style was the second Shelby County Courthouse, erected in the center of the public square at Shelbyville in 1832. It was a two-storied, red brick building, forty feet square and twenty-three feet high at the eave line. It was covered with a hip roof which, in 1837, was topped by a low, square tower surmounted by an octagonal lantern with a weather vane. The entire lower floor was used as a courtroom, the upper floor, reached by a double stairway on the south side, being reserved for county offices. Its proportions, membering, and open stairways were distinctly Southern in character.

The same year Gurdon S. Hubbard contracted with the commissioners of Vermilion County to build a similar structure at Danville. This brick edifice, fifty feet square and two stories high, with hip roof, cupola, and bell, was completed in 1836. Other courthouses of similar pattern were built at Jacksonville (1829-1830), Charleston (1835), Paris, Effingham, and Benton (1840-1845). The Coles County Courthouse in Charleston was the scene of the Copperhead riot of March 28, 1864, in which nine men were killed and twelve wounded. It

stood at the center of the public square and contained the courtroom, grand jury room, and treasurer's office. The clerk's office was in a small detached building at the west, the judge's office in a similar structure at the east.

But if the square courthouse has certain Southern precedent, so has the Greek-temple type which was also once popular in Illinois. One need look no further than the Lunenburg County Courthouse in Virginia to find excellent precedent for this form. As was the case with the square building, Ohio and Indiana had many of the Greek Revival type, a particularly fine example in the latter state being the Orange County Courthouse at Paoli (1850), still in use. Illinois had a great many county capitols of this pattern, excellent examples still standing at Knoxville, Metamora, Mount Pulaski, and Hennepin. Of these, only Hennepin, in Putnam County, is any longer a county seat, and that of Illinois' smallest county.

But while Classical Revival architecture in America may be said to have stemmed from Jefferson's interest, the resultant Greek Revival became a fad also in the North. In fact it was the Greek Revival house, for the most part, that was imported when, after 1825, the Yankees began to settle in northern Illinois.

There were, of course, exceptions to Greek Revival predominance. Beecher Hall, on the campus of Illinois College at Jacksonville (founded in 1829), is one. This staunch old master in the Federal style, with its excellent fenestration, its coupled chimneys, its blue-green shutters, and its lovely entrance, is a noble structure. Another example is the Mansion House (1842) built by the Mormons at Nauvoo. Here the façade is divided into three bays by pilasters, and above a pilaster-flanked entry stands a triple window, all features of the late Federal era. However, classical feeling creeps into the details. Of northern Federal lineage is also the Wilford Woodruff house at Nauvoo. Symmetrical in plan, this two-

storied brick structure has coupled end chimneys which serve seven fireplaces below.

Also of mixed Federal and classical feeling is the fine old brick house at the southeast corner of Union and Henry streets in Alton. Here we find a typical Federal mass with coupled end chimneys, a doorway with elliptical fanlight and side lights, and three pedimented dormers on the roof. But over the door is a porch, probably added later, which exhibits definite Greek Revival traits.

Illinois has many Greek Revival houses still standing in the older towns. The tetrastyle, wooden, Greek Doric temple known as the H. F. Eames home in Ottawa, the Thomas Worthington house in Pittsfield, originally a young ladies' seminary (now demolished), and old houses at Princeton, Geneseo, and throughout northern Illinois, are indicative of the great popularity of the Greek Revival style between 1830 and the Civil War.

Churches likewise were erected in the form of Greek temples, but these were ornamented with belfries and spires, perforated by rows of side windows, and otherwise altered in order to make them suitable as places of worship. Good examples of country meetinghouses of this category are the Congregational churches at Godfrey, Rockton, Payson, and Lisbon. The charming church (1865) and parsonage at Payson well illustrate the modifications made in such architecture to adapt it to the Illinois scene. Here the spire is as tall and graceful as many seen upon New England churches.

A distinguished structure is the old Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown. Standing upon a high podium, like a Roman temple, this interesting Greek Doric design is unique in that it has an uneven number of columns. Whereas antique temples may have from four to ten columns, the bank at Shawneetown has five. This arrangement was no doubt occasioned by the fact that, instead of a central door, here there are two doors, one at either side. This placing of columns makes possible an

intercolumnar opening before each door. At the side of the bank is a charming stairway leading up to a platform carried on a Doric column and surrounded with a delightful railing of cast and wrought iron.

The state of Illinois has had two capitols in the Greek style, the first built at Vandalia in 1836, the second erected at Springfield between the years of 1837 and 1853. The Vandalia capitol, as now restored, shows a two-storied, Greek-temple mass of white-painted brick. The entrance portico is on the long side and consists of four square Doric piers supporting a light pediment. Atop the roof is an octagonal cupola, more Federal than Greek in spirit. This structure, now a state memorial, was long the Fayette County Courthouse.

In the same year that the state legislature occupied the Statehouse at Vandalia, it voted to move the capital to Springfield. To this end it was necessary to erect a permanent capitol in the new seat of government. The architect was chosen by a competition announced in the papers of Springfield, Louisville, St. Louis, Pittsburgh, and Harrisburg. Three hundred dollars was to be paid for the winning design. As a result of the competition \$200 was paid to John Francis Rague of Springfield and \$100 to Henry Singleton of St. Louis. The cornerstone was laid on July 4, 1837. Before the building was raised, to make room for a new story that was inserted beneath it, the capitol was one of the finest examples of the Greek manner in the Middle West. Little attention has been paid to Rague. Indeed respectable authors and publications still attribute the design of the structure to Ithiel Town and Alexander J. Davis, prominent Eastern architects. In addition to his work at Springfield, however, Rague rounded out for himself a career of professional distinction, first at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and later at Dubuque, Iowa.

Born at Scotch Plains, New Jersey, on March 24, 1799 Rague, son of a French surgeon attached to the staff of Lafayette during the Revolution, was reared in New York City



Photo by Carl Miller

UPPER—BANK OF ILLINOIS, SHAWNEETOWN.

LOWER—MANSION HOUSE, NAUVOO.

Following preliminary schooling, he entered the office of Minard Lafever, a prominent architect and author of architectural manuals. Rague came from New York to Springfield about 1831. Here he was president of the Mechanics' Institute¹⁵ and in 1836 was elected one of the trustees of the town. The next year, as we have seen, he was awarded first prize in the capitol competition and was appointed supervising architect, which position he held until 1841 when he left Springfield.

Rague's reputation as an architect spread, and in 1839 he was commissioned to prepare plans for the capitol of Iowa at Iowa City. This distinguished building, now the Administration Building of the University of Iowa, is in excellent repair and a fine tribute to the abilities of this worthy Greek Revivalist.

After leaving Springfield, Rague resided in Milwaukee, but he seems also to have spent some time in Chicago, Janesville, and Madison. At Milwaukee, where he advertised himself as an architect with "twenty years of practical building in the city of New York," he designed the Phoenix Building and several school buildings. For the University of Wisconsin at Madison he designed three buildings, Bascom, North, and South halls. In 1854 Rague, at the suggestion of Governor Stephen Hempstead of Iowa, settled at Dubuque. Here, among other structures designed by Rague, still stand the City Hall, the Dubuque County jail, the octagonal Langworthy house and the old Third Ward School, now an apartment house. Rague designed at least two other schools and the F. E. Bissell residence, no longer standing. He died on September 24, 1877, and was buried in Linwood Cemetery in Dubuque.

The old capitol at Springfield has been sadly altered, especially the stairways and dome. It is sincerely hoped that his fine old masterpiece may be soon restored to its old-time

¹⁵ The Mechanics' Institute, established under the presidency of John F. Rague, had a short life. Its successor was the Springfield Mechanics' Union. Harry E. Pratt, "The Springfield Mechanics' Union," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. XXXIV, no. 1 (March, 1941), 131.

appearance. Associated as it is with the career of Illinois' greatest son, the building deserves to be put back into the condition which Lincoln knew.

But Illinois was open to other architectural winds which blew in her direction. Thus, when the Gothic Revival found its way across the country, examples of that style sprang up on Illinois' soil. An interesting result of this romantic movement was the architecture of Jubilee College near Kickapoo, erected in 1839-1840 by Philander Chase, founder of the institution and the first Episcopal Bishop of Illinois. Here, brown sandstone buildings of English Gothic design were set amid the primeval forests of Illinois. The Bishop's residence in brick Gothic was likewise interesting.

At Galena the lovely old Grace Episcopal Church (1848-1850), built of native limestone and set upon a ledge cut from the earth halfway up the western hill of the town, is as fine an example of church architecture as the Gothic Revival brought forth in Illinois. It is fronted by a fine embattled square tower and interesting buttresses flank tower and walls. With a prettily chancel and good windows, the interior is equally charming.

Synchronizing with the scroll-saw era, the Gothic Revival brought forth wooden Gothic houses with vertical boarding and jig-saw barge boards. The A. B. Austin house in Paris and the Frances E. Willard house in Evanston are good examples. But almost every old Illinois town has representatives of the fad. Sometimes the houses are of brick, trimmed in white painted wooden lacework that in full sunshine casts most interesting shadows. Yes, Illinois was at times as romantic as she had been classic!

With these rambling remarks I bring to a close this sketchy treatment of architectural beginnings in Illinois. Much more could be told about these "firsts" in architectural development. Time, however, does not permit the telling of the story in full detail. That must be reserved for future delineation.

LINCOLN, WRIGHT, AND HOLMES AT FORT STEVENS

BY FREDERICK C. HICKS

THE fine art of story-writing is skillfully illustrated in Alexander Woollcott's "Get Down, You Fool," the first article in his volume, *Long, Long Ago*, and which first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1938. The gist of it is that Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, when a young lieutenant colonel in the Union Army, seeing President Abraham Lincoln standing in an exposed position on the parapet of Fort Stevens during General Jubal Early's attack on Washington, D. C. (July 11-12, 1864), shouted "Get down, you fool," grabbed him by the arm, and dragged him under cover.

Woollcott got the story from Professor Harold Laski and from Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter, to both of whom, many years after the event, Holmes told the story. Justice Frankfurter in a letter to the writer vouches for the fact that Holmes told the story, and Professor Laski has given his own version in an article in *The Listener*, March 13, 1941 (p. 359), where he says of Holmes:

He often liked to speak of one of his memories of the war. Lincoln visited the regiment when it was engaged in the defense of Washington against the rebels. He asked Holmes to show him where the rebels stood. Holmes pointed across to the Virginia hills [they were really in Maryland], and the President, raising his tall, gaunt figure to see better, became at once a target for snipers. "I lost my nerve," Holmes used to say, and yelled at the President, 'Get down, you fool!' The President turned to me quietly, and said with a twinkle in his eye, 'Colonel Holmes, I am glad to see you know how to talk to a civilian.' "

Woollcott satisfied himself (and I have no reason to dis-

agree with him) that Holmes told the anecdote, and that could have happened. But to make a good story better, Woolcott went on to speculate why the story remained so long locked up in the Justice's memory. Wrote Woolcott:

It is my own surmise that in after years he heard of so many high-ranking warriors having rescued Lincoln from Early's snipers that took him a long time to recover from his distaste. More than half a century had to pass before he could bring himself to say in effect—and then only in rare confidences—"You know, it was to me that really happened. It was this way."¹

This surmise of Woolcott's seems to say that high-ranking warriors had untruthfully professed to have rescued Lincoln, and that no one but young Holmes was entitled to the honor.

I must confess that when I first read this surmise in 1933, there arose in me a distaste for Woolcott rather than for an unnamed, supposedly presumptuous warrior. What warrior did he have in mind? He says that you will search the Library of Congress in vain for any record of the colloquy between Holmes and Lincoln. True; but he could have found there a record of another colloquy which took place on the same day and in the same circumstances. The persons involved were Lincoln and Major General Horatio G. Wright, who was in command at Fort Stevens. The well-authenticated record of this conversation had long been in print when Woolcott wrote. It was worthy of a less sarcastic reference, if Woolcott knew about it. And the implications of his surmise should no longer be allowed to cast doubt on the truth of the other episode.

Horatio Gouverneur Wright, born in Clinton, Connecticut, on March 6, 1820, was a soldier by profession. He graduated in 1841, second in his class, at the United States Military Academy. His specialty was military engineering, but he commanded fighting troops in many of the engagements of the

¹ Woolcott, *Long, Long Ago* (New York, 1943), 10.

ivil War, returning to the Corps of Engineers at the end of the war. He was one of the engineers in charge of the preparation and publication of the *United States Geographical Surveys West of the 100th Meridian*.² He retired in 1884, but continued to live in Washington until his death in 1899.

As an engineer he had been in 1861 employed on the building of the fortifications about Washington, a fact which was as useful when he was ordered to Washington, as Major General of Volunteers, to resist the attack of Early. There is nothing in the record of his career to suggest that he would, any more than Holmes, lay claim to a distinction to which he was not entitled. How did it happen that these three men, Lincoln, Wright, and Holmes, were together at Fort Stevens?

For some time prior to that date the Lincoln family had been living at a summer cottage at the Soldiers' Home, a short distance south of Fort Stevens. Lincoln drove the five miles to the White House each morning and returned at night. He was familiar with the whole region, and particularly he knew what steps had been taken to strengthen the sixty-eight forts and batteries which surrounded the city. The areas in front of these forts were cleared of timber in order to give an unobstructed view from them. In the case of Fort Stevens, this meant that one could see clearly all the way to the northern hills where Early's troops later appeared. Lincoln knew from day to day of the progress of Early's advance along the Shenandoah Valley, which began on June 13, and he was in constant touch with Grant, whom he urged, not only to take steps to protect the capital, but also to pursue Early and destroy his army.

On Saturday, July 9, Early was at Frederick, Maryland, and the next day he was at Rockville, ten miles north of Fort Stevens. That evening (July 10), as usual, Lincoln drove out to the Soldiers' Home to spend the night; but Secretary Stan-

² Published in Washington, D. C., 1873-1884, 12 vols.

ton sent a carriage and insisted that the family return to the White House. They arrived there about midnight. In the meantime, to Lincoln's embarrassment, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy had put a vessel in readiness for the family, in case of necessity, to leave Washington.

Next morning, Monday, July 11, Lincoln inspected Fort Stevens, and the forts to the west in Tennallytown. From one of them, Fort Reno, at 11:00 A.M., the first view was had of Early's army wagons advancing on the Seventh Street pike straight north of Fort Stevens. At Fort Stevens that morning Lincoln must have seen the encampment of the Twenty-fifth New York Cavalry which had arrived the previous midnight—the first regiment to arrive from the James River, sent for the protection of the city. Other troops were on the way. They had embarked at City Point, sailed down the James River and up the Potomac, and were even then arriving at the Sixth Street wharf. They were units in the Sixth Corps, commanded by General Wright, to whom Holmes had just been assigned as aide-de-camp.

One of the members of this corps was Dr. George T. Stevens, surgeon of the Seventy-seventh Regiment, New York Volunteers, who wrote the book, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps*. His regiment sailed from City Point at daybreak, July 10, on the steamer *Essex*, and reached the Sixth Street wharf at about 2:00 P.M. on July 11. At the wharf were also ships which had brought the Nineteenth Corps from New Orleans.

Lincoln was at the dock to meet these ships. Stevens saw him there, "chatting familiarly with the veterans, and now and then, as if in compliment to them, biting at a piece of hard tack which he held in his hand."³

The troops with whom Stevens came formed in line and marched past the Smithsonian Institution, the Patent Office, and the Post Office, and northward on Fourteenth Street.

³ George T. Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps* (New York, 1867), 372.

they marched, they could hear cannonading to the north. They eventually camped for the night in the rear of Fort DeRussy, the first one west of Fort Stevens. That same evening, another brigade, under the command of General Frank Wheaton, was massed near Crystal Springs, not far from Fort Stevens. At 4:10 P. M., General Wright, from Fort Stevens, reported to General C. C. Augur, in command of the Department of Washington, "The head of my column has nearly reached the front."⁴ Probably Holmes was with Wright.

Meanwhile, things had been happening on the Confederate side. General Early, in person, one hour after his advance wagons had been observed, arrived on the hills before Fort Stevens, in a position from which, over and beyond the fort, he had a clear view of the dome of the Capitol. He concluded (and rightly) that the fort was feebly manned, and ordered an immediate attack. But before the order could be executed he saw new troops forming a skirmish line. By five o'clock Early's men had driven this line back, but General Wheaton's troops recovered the position in the course of the next two hours. During the day, twenty shots were fired from the guns of Fort Stevens. Skirmishing continued during the night.

On this day, July 11, while Lincoln was visiting the forts, the first attack on Fort Stevens was made. Lincoln was there at the time, and was under fire. This fact is established by an entry in the diary of John Hay, one of his secretaries. After visiting the forts, and after greeting the troops arriving at the Potomac River docks, Lincoln returned to the White House and talked with Hay. The latter wrote the following in his diary:

At three o'clock P.M. the President came in bringing the news that the enemy's advance was at Ft. Stevens on the 7th Street road. He was in the Fort when it was first attacked, standing upon the parapet. A soldier roughly ordered him to get down or he would have his head knocked off.⁵

⁴ *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1891), I ser., XXXVII, pt. 1: 265.

⁵ Tyler Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York, 1939), 208.

The best account that I have seen of the situation in Washington on the evening of July 11 is in Chapter XVI of Margaret Leech's *Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865*. Southern sympathizers were sure now that the city would be taken, and they did not hesitate to say so. Refugees in wagons and on foot, bringing what possessions they could, were flocking down the roads past the northern ring of forts and into the city. Union troops were marching in the opposite direction to take positions in or near the fortifications. And to add to the confusion, crowds of Washingtonians made their way by streetcars, carriages, horseback, and on foot out along the Seventh Street road to see what was going on. It was the kind of crowd that might have been out to see a circus arrive in town. Strangely enough, this attitude was shown next day even by officials and their guests when they gathered at Fort Stevens as if to see a spectacle rather than an engagement in which men lost their lives.

July 12 dawned "bright and glorious," wrote Dr. George T. Stevens.⁶ The Confederate skirmishers could be plainly seen from Fort Stevens, and puffs of smoke from their rifle marked their positions. This was the crucial day. No one knew how strong Early was, or whether he was now making a display of force to cover a retreat. It was decided to give battle rather than to continue on the defensive. The barracks in the rear of the fort were converted into a hospital for the Second Division, the first brigade of which was on picket duty in front of the fort. Dr. Stevens was one of the surgeons in charge. While preparations for the attack were being made, all remained quiet except for the crack of rifle shots. Five o'clock was the hour set for the attack,⁷ and an hour before this, official spectators and their friends began to arrive.

At four o'clock "President Lincoln and his wife drove up to the barracks, unattended, except by their coachman, the

⁶ Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps*, 374.

⁷ *War of the Rebellion*, I ser., XXXVII, pt. I: 276.

superbly mounted squadron of cavalry, whose duty it was to attend upon his excellency, being left far behind.”⁸ They talked with Dr. Stevens until General Wright with his staff (including Holmes, I presume) arrived, “accompanied by several ladies and gentlemen from the city.”⁹ The whole party, Stevens with them, then went into the fort. Stevens remained with them until the wounded began to be brought in, when he returned to the barracks in the rear. An engraving in his book (between pages 376 and 377) pictures the opposing skirmish lines before Fort Stevens, and the assembled spectators, including ladies, and Lincoln, standing on the parapet. Stevens says in his preface that nearly all the engravings in his book are from sketches made by him on the ground.

This is what Lincoln and the others saw. They saw Colonel D. D. Bidwell at the head of the Third Brigade march from the rear and out past the fort into the valley in front of it, where they formed in two lines in the rear of the skirmishers who were already there; “the President, the members of his cabinet and the ladies praising the hardy, soldierly bearing of the men as they passed.”¹⁰ When Bidwell’s men were in position as planned, they saw him signal to General Wright, who stood with Lincoln on the parapet of the fort. Then, on Wright’s command, the heavy ordnance in the fort, over the heads of Bidwell, his men, and the skirmish line, shelled the enemy positions on the opposite hills. They saw Wright give the order to cease fire, and saw him signal to Bidwell to send his men to the charge. One of their objectives was a frame house occupied by the Confederates. They saw Bidwell’s men reach this house and push on beyond. Says Stevens:

The President, the members of his cabinet and the ladies, as well as the military officers in the fort, and the crowd of soldiers and citizens, who had gathered about it to witness the fight, watched with breathless interest the gallant advance as our boys pushed forward . . . until they

⁸ Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps*, 374.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 375.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

saw the rebels take to flight. Then the crowd at the fort rent the air with exultant cheers, and as the boys reached the house, the people were wild with excitement, shouting and clapping their hands, leaping and dancing with joy.¹¹

In the first edition of Dr. Stevens' work, which was published in 1867, three years after the event described, appeared the following paragraph:

While the battle was in progress, President Lincoln stood upon the parapet of the fort watching, with eager interest, the scene before him. Bullets came whistling around, and one severely wounded a surgeon who stood within three feet of the President. Mrs. Lincoln entreated him to leave the fort, but he refused; he, however, accepted the advice of General Wright to descend from the parapet and watch the battle from a less exposed position.¹²

At the end of this chapter in the second edition is the following additional statement prepared for Stevens by General Wright. I do not take the liberty of condensing it, or putting it into the form of questions and answers. Here it is in full:

The President evinced remarkable coolness and disregard of danger. Meeting him as I came out from my quarters, I thoughtlessly invited him to see the fight in which we were about to engage, without for a moment supposing he would accept. A moment after I would have given much to have recalled my words, as his life was too important to the nation to be put in jeopardy by a chance shot, or the bullet of a sharpshooter. He took his position at my side on the parapet, and all my entreaties failed to move him, though in addition to the stray shots which were constantly passing over, the spot was a favorite mark for the sharpshooters. When the surgeon to whom you allude was shot, and after I had cleared the parapet of every one else, he still maintained his ground, till I told him I should have to remove him forcibly. The absurdity of the idea of sending off the President under guard seemed to amuse him; but, in consideration of my earnestness in the matter, he agreed to compromise by sitting behind the parapet instead of standing upon it. He could not be made to understand why if I continued exposed, he should not; and my representations that an accident to me was of little importance, while to him it could not be measured, and that it was, moreover, my duty, failed to make any impression on him. I could not help thinking that in leaving the parapet he did so rather in deference to my earnestly expressed wishes than from any considerations of personal safety, though the danger had been so un-

¹¹ Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps*, 376.

¹² *Ibid.*, 378.

mistakably proved by the wounding of the officer alluded to. After he left the parapet he would persist in standing up from time to time, thus exposing nearly one-half his tall form to the bullets.¹³

In another place, also, we have an account of the Lincoln-Wright conversation. On April 2, 1900, William Van Zandt Cox read to the Columbia Historical Society a paper on "The Defenses of Washington." This is printed in the Society's *Records*,¹⁴ and it was reprinted in pamphlet form for the use of the Fort Stevens-Lincoln Military Park Association. In this paper, Cox told about a visit that he made in 1896 to the remains of Fort Stevens. His companions on that visit were General Wright, and the latter's daughter, Mrs. Rosa Wright Smith; General D. S. Stanley; Captain Thomas Wilson; Dr. C. G. Stone; and James E. Kelly. At that time Wright was seventy-six years of age. He identified the spot on the old earthworks where he and Lincoln had stood, and, as reported by Cox, recalled that he said to Lincoln, after his entreaties failed to have effect:

Mr. President, I know you are commander of the armies of the United States, but I am in command here, and as you are not safe where you are standing, and I am responsible for your personal safety, I order you to come down.

On the cover of the pamphlet in which this account appears is a drawing representing Wright expostulating with Lincoln, while the surgeon falls wounded at his side.

There is another Lincoln episode connected with Fort Stevens, which Cox relates in his paper, as to the truth of which I can only say that I talked with one of the supposed participants. In 1904, I visited Fort Stevens, photographed the old ramparts, and talked with Elizabeth Thomas, a colored woman who, with her relatives, was the owner of the property on which Fort Stevens was built. In the month of June, 1861, under authority of the United States, General Isaac I. Stevens,

¹³ Stevens, *Three Years in the Sixth Corps* (2nd ed., New York, 1870).

¹⁴ *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (1901), 135-65.

after whom the fort was named, took possession of the property, for the purpose of erecting fortifications upon it. In July, 1863, a detachment of the Army tore down Elizabeth's house, barn, and outbuildings. Put into Cox's English, this is Aunt Betty's story:

The soldiers camped here at this time were mostly German. [They were Pennsylvania Dutch.] I could not understand them, not even the officers, but when they began taking out my furniture and tearing down our house, I understood. In the evening I was sitting under that sycamore tree—my only house—with what furniture I had left around me. I was crying, as was my six-months'-old child, which I had in my arms, when a tall, slender man, dressed in black, came up and said to me: "It is hard, but you shall reap a great reward."¹⁵

The man was Lincoln.

When I saw Aunt Betty, she was living on the property, which had been restored to her at the end of the war; but the only reward that she had received was the friendly attention of visitors, including veterans from the near-by Soldiers' Home. She had not yet been reimbursed for the use of her property, nor for the damage done to it. But in June, 1902, a bill to reimburse her had been introduced in the Senate, and on October 17, 1904, the Court of Claims had considered the case. The report of the Court of Claims was printed as *Senate Document No. 53* (58th Congress, 3d Session). The Senate bill above referred to provided for payment to her of \$6,930. The Court of Claims assessed the damages at \$1,835, but I can find no record that Congress appropriated the money.

Fort Stevens is now a public park. On an earthwork near the east entrance is a tablet reading: "Lincoln under fire at Fort Stevens, July 12, 1864."

¹⁵ *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (1901), 138.

THE ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND IN THE UNITED STATES

BY ARTHUR J. MAY

AMONG the European travelers to the United States in the nineteenth century two stand out from the crowd by virtue of their political prominence: Edward, Prince of Wales, who spent a month here in the autumn of 1860, and the ill-fated Francis Ferdinand, imperial prince and heir presumptive to the crowns of the Hapsburgs, who made a flying trip "from sea to shining sea" in the fall of 1893. The assassination of the latter Prince at Sarajevo in 1914 was the spark that set off World War I.

Prince Edward came hither on a mission of good will, with the intention of bettering feelings between the two countries, although formally he appeared as a student of American ways and manners, traveling incognito as Baron Renfrew. After visiting Newfoundland and Canada, the Prince paid his respects to several Middle Western and Eastern communities of the United States. Everywhere he was the object of attention by curious and friendly crowds. For three days he was entertained at the White House as the guest of President Buchanan, and a boisterous reception in his honor was held in New York City.

In the course of his excursion this great-grandson of George III sat in the chair occupied by John Hancock as he signed the Declaration of Independence. He also made a pilgrimage to Bunker Hill, and even planted a chestnut tree close by the grave of Washington at Mount Vernon. As a worshiper in old Trinity Church in New York he listened to a prayer for

the well-being of the British reigning house—the first supplication of that kind since 1776.

Although he had only turned nineteen, Prince Edward was fully conscious of the high purpose of his errand and proved to be “an effective political missionary.” By his characteristic *savoir-faire* and democratic manners he contributed somewhat to the softening of the anti-British animus that pervaded broad layers of the American population.¹

Strikingly different is the story of the less well-known appearance of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. His American journey, which his biographers dismiss in a minimum of space, was simply one lap—and from his standpoint not a very important one at that—in a trip round the world. Nor did his trip have any political purpose; rather it was undertaken so that the Prince might indulge in his favorite diversion of hunting, and at the same time learn something at firsthand about the customs and manners of foreign lands and improve his health. His uncle, Emperor Francis Joseph I, frowned upon the expedition, but the Archduke insisted on carrying out his plan and for the first time, though not the last, the monarch felt it wise to accede to his wishes.²

With three aristocratic companions and a retinue of servants, Francis Ferdinand steamed away from Trieste on the Hapsburg cruiser *Kaiserin Elizabeth* on December 15, 1892. Before landing on American soil he saw the wonders and curiosities of Asiatic countries and Pacific islands, and got in much pleasurable hunting. Day by day, as he traveled, the Archduke recorded his observations, his experiences, and his thoughts on manners and morals, which were printed in two bulky volumes; and he hotly resented imputations that the book was the product of a ghost writer. For its content, as well as for the evidence it yields on the qualities and personality of

¹ Sidney Lee, *King Edward VII, A Biography* (New York, 1925), I: 83-111.

² Theodor Sosnosky, *Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand* (Munich, 1929), 9-10.

the Archduke, this journal has lasting value.³

The coming of the Archduke had, of course, been known to our government and heralded in the newspapers. In a communication to the State Department, Colonel Frederick D. Grant, the American minister at the Hapsburg court, reported on October 29, 1892, that the Archduke's father had informed him that his son would tour the United States; it was being said semiofficially in Vienna that the main object of the visit would be to promote commerce, and that the guest, who would travel incognito, would spend some time at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.⁴ No invitation to make a call at the White House was extended to the Austrian, though the press of the day intimated that there would be an "exchange of courtesies" with President Cleveland.

Somehow or other, word of the projected visit of this distinguished foreigner reached the ears of the press in New York well in advance of his arrival, and evoked editorial comment. The *Tribune* contented itself with a sober enough analysis of the probability that the Archduke would one day wear the Hapsburg crowns, in view of the family statutes on succession. It was hinted that Francis Joseph might deny the throne to a man who was noted for bigotry and for his generally illiberal outlook on men and affairs.⁵

Tagging along afterward, the *New York Times* assured its readers that the "royal visitor" was "a haughty, proud, and cold man," who confined his associations to military and aristocratic dignitaries, and whose political philosophy of absolutism made him decidedly anachronistic. The *Times* was certain that the Archduke's future subjects "earnestly hope that he may during his absence from Austria, absorb many ideas concerning a ruler's use and abuse of the power that he is soon

³ Erzherzog Franz Ferdinand, *Tagebuch meiner Reise um die Erde, 1892-1893* (2 vols., Vienna, 1895-1896). The section on the United States is rather elaborate, occupying pages 466 to 538 of the second volume.

⁴ Grant to Foster, Oct. 29, 1892, Austrian Despatches, Vol. XXXIX (MSS, U. S. National Archives).

⁵ *New York Daily Tribune*, July 17, 1893.

to hold by the Grace of God." The *Times* was equally sure that wealthy New Yorkers "would travel a long distance and endure much inconvenience to bend the knee before a bona fide Prince whose future compasses a throne and a sceptre." A subtle suggestion was thrown out that because of the shortage of suitable candidates in Europe from whom the Prince could select a bride, he might do worse than imitate many another European aristocrat of the time by marrying an American heiress and so bettering his financial standing. Assuredly the American republic would "not be lacking in obeisance" to the future master of the Hapsburg dominions.⁶

Francis Ferdinand, weighted down with impressions of the Orient, of which there are detailed and colorful accounts in his journal, entered the United States from Canada, stopping first at Spokane, Washington, on September 19, 1893. And straightway he mildly rubbed the sensitive American fur the wrong way. His arrival caused no inconsiderable commotion in the bustling, young community, especially among the women, who craved a glimpse at "a prince who isn't married and doesn't want to be."

Meaning to do honor to the distinguished aristocrat, the commander of a body of soldiers encamped near Spokane invited him to witness a review; but the answer was a curt refusal, the Archduke pleading that he was traveling in strict incognito. That was not the way to win friends and influence people, not, leastwise, in "the land of the free." This incident was only the initial manifestation of the fact that the Prince of Austria was coached far less competently than the Prince of Wales.

No wonder a Spokane editor complained about "the aloof and exclusive" manner of the Prince, adding that "Franz is missing a splendid opportunity to pick up information that would be useful when he ascended the throne." That apart,

⁶ *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1893.

Spokane went on its way little ruffled by the Archduke's disdainful arrogance. To his diary the Archduke confided that he would much rather inspect the raw and energetic city than inspect troops, and Spokane made a bad impression, reminding him of obscure villages in Asia Minor!⁷

From Spokane the Hapsburg party proceeded, by private Pullman car and under the guidance of a representative of Cook's tourist agency, to Yellowstone National Park, Butte, Salt Lake City, Pueblo, Denver, Lincoln, Omaha, and on to Chicago. In the diary, scientific observations mingle with not very profound wisps of philosophy, and curt commentaries on the hunting and fishing—or rather the lack of them. Actually, the Archduke's hope of enjoying some good hunting while in this country came to naught. Much to his irritation, Yellowstone Park, where choice animals roamed in great profusion, was heavily placarded with "No Shooting" signs. Except for a skunk, a porcupine, and half a dozen squirrels ensnared in Yellowstone Park, nothing was added to the trophies of the chase which had been bagged before entering the United States. As the visitors moved eastward their instinct for sport appears to have vanished, for the diary is silent on the subject.

Evidently many objects of nature of which the Archduke had read turned out to be disappointing as realities; Europe had superior natural phenomena, only they had not been advertised in the American manner, he dryly noted. But, on the other hand, "Old Faithful" and the grand canyon of the Yellowstone River exceeded his expectations. Unfavorable weather conditions forced the cancellation of a climb up Pike's Peak.

When Indians tried to dispose of buffalo and oxhorns to the archducal party, Francis Ferdinand was inspired to compose a little lament on the evil fortune that had befallen the once lordly red men; and he complained sharply over the ex-

⁷ Consult C. S. Kingston, "Franz Ferdinand at Spokane—1893," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XVI (Jan., 1925), 3-7.

orbitant prices that were asked for antlers and other trophies of which his heart was so fond. A minor irritation was the engineer's habit of blowing the locomotive whistle incessantly to scare stray animals off the track, and, farther along, the road bed was so rough that even flasks and bottles broke. Francis Ferdinand decided not to complain to the conductor, for he was sure that if he did so he would either be rudely told that no one was obliged to travel on that train, or else he would be laughed at.

The much-advertised and mammoth Hot Springs Hotel at Yellowstone, which he found had neither urbane amenities nor good service, was more annoying than impressive, and after eating, the Archduke fled to his bedroom in order to avoid the cowboys who lounged about, squirting tobacco juice. At little inns it was most repulsive to have the hospitable host shake hands and treat Austrian bluebloods as though they were no better than other patrons. Time and again the Archduke recorded how he was repelled by the crude customs of social democracy. Pretty girls, for whom Francis Ferdinand had a discriminating taste, were carefully chaperoned by Argus-eyed matrons.

At Butte he went down into a mine, but for the life of him he could not understand why pioneer operators who had amassed millions should choose to live in so unprepossessing a town, unless it was sheer lust to add to already swollen fortunes. Salt Lake City elicited reflections on the Mormons, their history, and quaint customs; gardens and flowers lent the city a distinction lacking in other Western communities. Nebraska's prairies were deadly monotonous. At Omaha, the Prince had another contretemps with the press, when reporters solicited interviews and were sternly reprimanded; it was disgusting, the way in which "news-hawks" impertinently tried to pry into one's private affairs, so as to provide choice morsels for readers as they gulped down their next morning's meal.

On October 3, 1893, the party reached Chicago, not altogether pleased with the works of nature they had seen, and quite unhappy over the gauche manners and customs which they had encountered in their dealings with Americans. Swarms of newsmen descended on the Prince's private car, but he contrived to elude them, and they had to be contented with questioning Herr Steinman, the official taxidermist! Chicago's dirty, dull buildings, drab factories, and impenetrable clouds of smoke caused Francis Ferdinand to heave a nostalgic sigh for the architectural and atmospheric glories of Vienna.

One enterprising Chicago journalist, in the employ of the *Tribune*, stole a march on his fellows by going to Denver and there boarding the train to which Francis Ferdinand's car was attached. He furnished his public with as intimate an account of the Archduke and his fellow travelers—their manners, their dress, and hunting equipment—as ingenuity could devise. "It was significant," he coyly reported, "that the car of the future king ran just behind thirteen similar cars filled to the utmost both with free and independent American sovereigns . . . two cars were filled with red-hot Populists from Kansas and Nebraska." For breakfast, said the correspondent, who had had no luck in obtaining an interview, His Highness was served "fruits of all kinds, beefsteak, ham and eggs, game, wines, including champagne, concluding with black coffee and cigars." Let it be set down to the shame of Ward McAllister that the heir to the imperial throne of Austria drinks champagne at breakfast," he chuckled. With the Archduke's party, he went on, are "enough trunks and big valises to stock an ocean steamer." And he calmed any reader who might be fearful, by assurances that Francis Ferdinand "is not the blood-thirsty warrior which his portraits have made him out."⁸

High points in the brief stay in Chicago were two hurried visits to the World's Columbian Exposition, of which the

⁸ *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 4, 1893.

Archduke wrote a detailed account.⁹ He was annoyed by eager, jostling crowds, but commented approvingly on a demonstration on the care and feeding of the American child, on the displays of garden products and fruit, and on a pavilion containing "the forty most beautiful women of the world," more than one of whom turned out to be a homesick native of Vienna.

But Chicagoans in general and journalists in particular decided that the Archduke was half-tightwad, half-boor, unresponsive to the lavish riches which the greatest of all world's fairs afforded. And it must be said that the Prince seemed to go out of his way to court unpopularity. He and his companions dashed hurriedly through building after building praising this and condemning that; seats purchased at fifty cents for Hagenbeck's circus were so far removed from the performance that complaint was made to the management; bluntly the distinguished guests were informed that for another fee, they could occupy a private box. "But," a reporter wryly recorded "the royal party didn't pony up the other half all around so they saw the show from the last row, way up under the eaves."¹⁰ Twice the Prince rode on the ice railway along with "other boys and girls."

The whole complement of the Austrian village at the Fair *Alt Wien*, keenly and excitedly waited for Francis Ferdinand to pay a call in the course of his wanderings along the Midway. But instead, the party peeked into other buildings and left the faithful Viennese severely alone, because of the throng of the curious that had collected. Small wonder that Chicago journalism felt that the Archduke had "brought sorrow to the heart of his patriotic countrymen."¹¹ A reporter quoted Francis Ferd

⁹ It had evidently been hoped that the future Hapsburg ruler would arrive before August 18, Austrian Day at the Fair, the birthday of Francis Joseph. Emigrants from the Danube monarchy made a gala occasion of that day, parading in their national costumes, listening to addresses and to a Viennese band which mingled Brahms' Hungarian Dances with the Austrian imperial anthem. Featured on the midway of the Fair was *Alt Wien*, a reproduction of an eighteenth-century Viennese street, complete with homes, shops, town hall, and a church. Rossiter Johnson, ed., *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition* (4 vols., New York, 1897), I: 427-428; II: 342.

¹⁰ *Chicago Times*, Oct. 4, 1893.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

inand as telling him in excellent English, "I was at the fair for a short time only . . . and could see but comparatively little of it. I was much pleased with what I did see and I regret that I could not stay much longer to see more of it."¹² The Archduke, the reporter stated, violated his fixed rule against saying anything for publication because he was taken by surprise and was too polite to refuse to talk.

After tarrying in the Windy City only a single day the party proceeded by way of Niagara Falls—which the Archduke pronounced a grand sight, though less magnificent than his boyhood imaginings had taught him to expect—to New York City, the last stop on the American journey. New Yorkers had no more reason for interest in the imperial guest than had dwellers in the Middle West. At Francis Ferdinand's request, the city even dispensed with the formality of a reception committee to welcome the party to the metropolis. He arrived, remarked the *Herald*, "just like any other ordinary, plain, every-day citizen and without the flourish of trumpets," in marked contrast to the pomp and ostentation which attended other distinguished visitors.¹³

New York journalists were unsuccessful in their attempts to get Francis Ferdinand to talk about his American impressions; such things were reserved for the pages of his diary. But the newspapers did carry stories of the career and of the personal appearance of the Archduke. The *Tribune*, announcing that "a future emperor is here," pictured him as "a tall young man about thirty years old. He has a slight well-knit figure and an Anglo-Saxon cast of countenance. His hair is light and he wears short side-whiskers and mustache. The servants are Tyrolese and wear the point-topped hats of their race. They look rather picturesque in spite of their generally conventional dress."¹⁴

¹² *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Oct. 4, 1893.

¹³ *New York Herald*, Oct. 7, 1893.

¹⁴ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 7, 1893.

The *Herald* and the *Times* also favored their readers with intimate descriptions of the Crown Prince's personality, and was explained that he avoided social functions and traveled incognito because in Europe he had "so much title to carry around and so much ceremony to go through with that he felt it would be a relief to leave behind his title and the ceremony that goes with it."¹⁵

Most of the hours spent in the East were devoted to pointing out of interest in New York and to inspecting the palatial estate and game preserve of Theodore A. Havemeyer, Austrian consul in New York and sugar baron, at Mahwah, New Jersey. New York impressed the austere Hapsburg as the very cathedral for the worship of the "almighty dollar;" there, as nowhere else, men bragged that what their country possessed surpassed everything else on the globe. Central Park reminded him of Vienna's famous Prater. Women in America—the paradise of their sex—seemed not to have special excellence. For an evening's diversion, the archducal party attended a variety show, attracting more attention than the performers on the stage. Out of deference to their imperial patron, songsters sang the "Blaua Donau." The dancers, unhappily, had long since seen their best days.

Instead of yielding to reportorial requests for his conclusions on the United States, Francis Ferdinand had Count Leo Wurmbrand, his head chamberlain-in-waiting, say: "His Highness says that he has enjoyed his visit to America very much and is greatly impressed with this country. He considers the World's Fair, what little he saw of it, wonderful and regrets that he could not stay longer in Chicago, and also that his stay in New York must be so short. He sails tomorrow for Europe. On other matters he has nothing to say."¹⁶

On October 7, Francis Ferdinand and his suite sailed for Europe on *La Bretagne*, and the departure inspired discussion

¹⁵ *New York Times*, Oct. 7, 1893.

¹⁶ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 7, 1893.

in the press on "the gilded slavery," the unenviable way of life which enchained members of the sovereign houses of Europe. One contributor, signing himself an "ex-attaché," launched forth in a vigorous indictment of Old World aristocracy, that of Vienna in particular, pointing out how restless and unhappy high society was and how fenced in, except for the audacious few who dared to break with the sacred canons of tradition. And he made a plea to readers to judge Europe's élite on the basis of individual merits and not to condemn them out of hand "because of the accident of their birth."¹⁷ That was a soliloquy calculated at once to hearten the democratic in spirit and to appease New York's emergent aristocracy of money.

Hedged round as Francis Ferdinand was and swift as was the journey across the continent, it is not surprising to find that his estimates of the United States and its inhabitants were extremely superficial; indeed, he confessed as much. Furthermore, they were written in the sarcastic and disparaging vein of Charles Dickens and Mrs. Trollope.¹⁸ Perusal of Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, which had recently appeared, would have been a liberal education for the arrogant Archduke.

In summing up his experience, Francis Ferdinand wrote favorably about certain of the natural wonders he had seen (though mountains and lakes, for all their grandeur, were less appealing than those of Austria), and about the success of Americans in conquering and exploiting the forces of nature. Somehow he divined that a wide gulf and intense social feeling separated the descendants of early settlers from recent immigrants; and in their transatlantic environment, men and women of European origins had diverged notably from their Old World relatives. Business transactions were conducted on monumental scale, often without regard to considerations of

¹⁷ *New York Tribune*, Oct. 8, 1893.

¹⁸ See Ferdinand, *Tagebuch*, II: 534-37.

morality and humanity; generosity of spirit was matched by crass egotism.

The American genius for doing things in a big way, and quickly, irritated the Prince; still he realized that immense power lay wrapped in the United States—a corrosive power, he felt, against which cultivated Europe must protect itself or be submerged. The American federal Constitution, in which Francis Ferdinand later on manifested an interest, as embodying principles that might be serviceable in mitigating political tensions in the multinational Hapsburg realm, seems not to have concerned him in 1893; he did, however, comment disapprovingly on the American practice of ousting hosts of civil servants when a new administration was installed in Washington.

At the time of Francis Ferdinand's American visit, his outlook and interests were very largely those that he had when he rode to his death on the streets of Sarajevo in June, 1914. His lifelong hobbies were love of the chase and collecting animal trophies. He thoroughly disliked democratic ways, social crudities, and popular government, holding firmly to antiquated conceptions of the Lord's anointed, and to hoary concepts of divine right. His cold marble personality found no satisfactions in clandestine social relations such as had rejoiced the spirit of his cousin, the wayward and progressive Crown Prince Rudolph. Social functions, receptions and the like, he regarded as boring and unrewarding, to be avoided if possible, and, failing that, to be got over with quickly. Mankind in the mass he held in low esteem, low to the point of cynicism, and he exerted no effort to curry public favor, such as Edward, Prince of Wales, had contrived with such success.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM OSBORNE DAVIS

EDITED BY HAROLD SINCLAIR

W. O. DAVIS was publisher of the Bloomington, Illinois, *Daily Pantagraph* from 1868 until his death in May, 1911. The *Pantagraph* is one of the oldest newspapers in Illinois, and will celebrate its one hundredth anniversary in the autumn of 1946. Since the death of W. O. Davis the paper has been published by his son, Hibbard O. Davis; by his grandson, Davis Merwin; and at present by another grandson, Loring C. Merwin, thus making a total of seventy-eight years that the paper has been directed by the Davis family.

W. O. Davis was for many years an important figure in Illinois journalism, and was among the first eight men included in the Hall of Fame, University of Illinois School of Journalism, established in 1930. Among others included were Joseph Medill, Elijah Lovejoy, and E. W. Scripps.

The following autobiography of W. O. Davis was only recently discovered (or rediscovered) in the vault at the *Pantagraph* office, and so far as is known has not been previously published. The original consists of forty-eight small manuscript pages in Davis's handwriting, and is incomplete, ending as it does some time in the 1880's. I would guess that it was written about the year 1900, with occasional bits inserted afterward. It is here transcribed verbatim.

Wm. Osborne Davis, son of Hibbard & Elizabeth Osborne Davis, was born August 5th, 1837, the eldest son in a family of nine children, there being three older sisters.

The homestead, where the family resided, was in East Bradford township, now Birmingham, near West Chester, Penna. There was a fine old roomy stone dwelling, built in 1740 in Colonial style, stone barn and outbuildings, and an excellent tract of 166 acres, that had descended to Hibbard Davis through several generations who had occupied it since the first settlement of the country.

It was the last of a tract of about 700 acres that was purchased by John Davis in 1690 and 1693, of an Englishman who in turn held the title from Wm. Penn the founder of Philadelphia and of this large tract of contiguous country.

At and around Birmingham Friends Meeting House was fought the Battle of Brandy Wine, one of the noted conflicts of the Revolution. The Davis farm is situated within an eighth of a mile of this place of Quaker worship. The British army formed in line of battle upon the southern boundary of this farm, and fired the first shots upon the American forces in position upon the elevated ground around the Meeting house in command of Gen Washn. personally. Lord Howe the British commander watched the progress of the battle from Osborne's hill, a half a mile in the rear of the advance line of his army. Osborne's Hill was a farm owned and occupied by Wm Osborne, father in law of Hibbard Davis.

Tradition asserts that the Davis homestead was occupied by the widow and children of Daniel Davis, that they took refuge in the cellar during the heavy firing, the marks of shot upon the dwelling house being visible for many years thereafter, and cannon ball and grapeshot were turned up by the plow at no very remote day.

The grant of this land from King Charles II, to Wm. Penn was dated March 4, 1681. Within the next few years there were large arrivals of English & Welsh emigrants, mostly Quakers, who proceeded to settle upon and improve the land. The original Davis ancestor was most probably among this

number. The first one of whom we have any definite information, was John of whom mention has been previously made. The history of his descendants shows them to have been Quakers.

Friends Meeting houses and school houses were planted thickly throughout this section of Penna. At Birmingham both the orthodox & Hicksite branches, for many years, worshiped in the old building, it being large enough to allow each a separate room—later the Orthodox erected a building for themselves. The Davis family belonged to the Orthodox branch, and their dead were buried in the grave yard there.

The subject of this sketch grew up like other sons of prosperous farmers, at work upon the farm in Summer and in the public school in Winter, having no special advantages and subject to no great hardships. He was a delicate, active, nervous lad, with more fondness for books than work. There was a very good neighborhood library at Birmingham, and the neighbors were an educated, progressive religious community, retaining many English customs and traditions.

When 14 years of age he was sent for the winter term to the Pine Grove Academy, a short distance from home. The following winter he was a student at Jonathan Gause's Seminary for young men & boys, near Marshalton, some five miles away. This school ranked high, Johnathan being a very successful teacher; the next two winters found him at Mr. Aaron's School at Norristown, Pa where he attracted some attention as a diligent and apt student, each summer at work upon his fathers farm. The next season he was sent to Charlotteville, N. Y. And on his return from there, in his 19th year he engaged as teacher of a country school near Marshalton, with pretty good success, and the following season was a teacher in The Gause's Seminary.

After a very severe sick spell in the spring of 1858, he spent a few months at The Claverack Institute, N.Y. prepar-

ing to enter Union College, N.Y. having by this time given up all intention of becoming a farmer—but through an acquaintance with Jesse W. Fell,¹ an opportunity offered to teach a small school at Mr Fells home in Normal, Ills. The attractiveness of the New West overcame the desire for college, and accordingly the latter part of Aug. 1858, just as he had passed his 21st birthday, he arrived in Bloomington, and was soon settled in Mr Fells home in Normal and engaged to teach the district school for the winter term.

The journey to the west at this time was much more tedious than a few years later—slow time, no sleepers or dining cars, the ordinary day coaches being very plain and constructed for transient travel, through cars were not run in those days.

Mr Davis was accompanied by Miss Jones & her mother, of West Chester, Pa, who were going to Battle Creek, Mich. The route took them via Pittsburgh, Cleveland or Toledo. Thence by boat night journey to Detroit, and by Mich Cen. to and through Battle Creek to Chicago—and on to Bloomington by the Alton² which was then in the control of Gov. Matteson, and was in a very wretched condition.

The first night, Saturday, in Bloomington was spent at the Pike House, and on Sunday morning Mr D walked out to Normal, over the only public road then open to the new town, the Hudson road as it was called, running as it does now east of and parallel to the Ill. Cen. R.R. It was a beautiful summer morning, warm but not sultry, and our traveller was charmed by the expanse of wide prairie and far reaching view that caught his eyes.

Mr Fells house was reached by passing through some bars in crossing the I.C. tracks. The streets of the village [Normal] were not yet opened to the public. Mr Fell had

¹ Jesse Fell's name will appear frequently in these pages and he needs little introduction to those even casually acquainted with Illinois history of the nineteenth century. He is, of course, best remembered for the role he played in the first nomination of Lincoln for the presidency in 1860, and for his part in the founding of the first State Normal University at Normal, Illinois, a town he founded practically singlehanded.

² The Chicago & Alton Railroad.

completed his fine new mansion the year previous and the park had been laid out with most of the trees and shrubbery, planted. It was a charming location and commanded a beautiful view for many miles around. The family was preparing for church, but Mr D was made welcome, and given a home.

At this time Henry C. Fell³ was at school in Penna.

T. J. Donahue was a visitor at the house this morning and J. F. Rees called during the day—these two men were the first acquaintances made outside of Mr F's family.

A little later J. C. Baily of Delavan was a boarder in the family, while attending school in Bloomington—Miss Jemima Garrettson was also a member of the household.

Acquaintance was soon made with Chalkley Bell who had a few years before moved here from West Chester, and bought a Section of land East of town on the Benjaminsville [road]. Mr D accepted an invitation to ride out, see the farm and stay overnight and visit Mrs Bell and the children, all of whom he had known at home.

The next acquaintances were B. F. Hoopes also from West Chester Geo. W. & Saml. Parke, & Wm. Paist.

Fanny Fell at this time was a baby about six weeks old. Clara seemed about as old and almost as large as her sister Eliza, who was a delicate, shy girl of 16, with a very meek, kindly expression,⁴ and an abundance of beautiful brown hair—her diffidence though was somewhat overcome after dinner for she invited the new member of the household to meet her Cousins, Gertrude and Hannah Case, and to ride with them in the family carriage, to the city.

School opened a couple of weeks later, with an enrollment of about 18, and continued for six months. The patrons expressed themselves as being well pleased with the teacher and the pupils got through the winter without any disagreeable conflicts.

³ Henry Clay Fell, Jesse Fell's eldest son.

⁴ Jesse Fell's daughters.

The Lincoln Douglass debates were conducted this fall. Mr D heard Douglass speak in Bloomington, & heard Lincoln in Springfield, there being a huge rally there, and a train of freight cars loaded with people went from Bloomington.

During the winter Mr D invested some \$600 in a tannery, a new process for quick tanning, conducted by Thos. Junk. The scheme was unsuccessful and Mr Fell took it off his hands in part payment for a number of lots in the town of Normal.

About the latter part of May, Mr Davis father and his Uncle Reynard Way, came west on a prospecting tour, and spent several days visiting Mr Fell and family. They were highly pleased with the new country and as a result Mr Davis Sr. bought for his son, Wm. & bro. James, the farm of 230 acres, on Main Street, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north of Bloomington, for \$35.00 per acre, of Capt John Johnson.

Mr Davis busied himself this summer in recuperating his health—for he came to Ills. in a weak physical state—helping Mr Fell in his tree planting along the streets of Normal, and doing some writing for him—for Mr Fell was Sec of Rep State Central Com & was quietly pushing Lincoln for President—and enjoying the society of the young ladies and their cousins. A trip was made with them to Delavan, in a heavy wagon over rough roads, an all day journey, and here a new set of acquaintances was made.

The following winter no school was held in the district school but an effort was made to have Mr Davis give the girls some instruction in Mr Fells library. Not much success was attained, for there was a heavy fall of snow, with good sleighing for a couple of months and the sleighing parties practically broke up the school. The social Coterie was enlarged this winter by the arrival of Enoch E. Lewis, from West Chester who secured the school at Ireland's Grove and spent Sat. & Sunday at Mr Fell's. Henry Fell was at home a part of this winter & Miss Sallie Dunn, of Bloomington, was a frequent

visitor. The winter was highly enjoyable in a social way. Lewis & Miss Dunn being very bright and vivacious young persons.

Rees and Donahue who had spent a part of the summer in the newly discovered gold fields of Pikes Peak, interested a number of Bloomington people in them, and in the spring some 35 or more joined the vast crowd that swept to the Rocky Mountains. In a company of 16, with four wagons were, E. J. Lewis, E. E. Lewis, H. C. Fell and W. O. Davis. They set out the first week of March for St. Louis, where the supplies for the journey were purchased, departing by steamboat Florence, Mch 7th to Nebraska City. 12 days en route, first trip of the season and river full of snags, boat crowded to its utmost capacity by these gold hunters, many from the Southern States. A landing at Kansas City revealed a new town of some 10 or 12000. Independence nearby, was an important place, for the Santa Fe overland freighters made their rendezvous here—and here the mules were bought & taken overland to Nebraska City, where the Company of 16 packed up and started westward Mch 21st following the Laramie trail to Ft. Kearney on the Platte river, where they arrived Apr 1st.

After the first half days travel, no more farms were seen, only the wild rolling prairies, heavy coat of prairie grass, that the Indians were burning in places to suit their hunting and camping convenience. At Ft. Kearney there was a garrison of soldiers. And hereabouts were a good many Indians, who came in to camp begging for whisky, tobacco and sugar—offering to trade or sell pipes, robes, ponies &c &c—They were guadily though scantily clad, painted and dirty, but friendly, mostly the Sioux tribe and afterward along the route many hundreds were seen and many villages were met with. Along this Platte valley too there passed daily the overland pony express, which came from St. Jo. Mo. at a brisk gallop, changing ponies at the stations which were established some 25 miles or less apart. The rider was well armed and the mail sacks were

strapped to the saddle. The Overland stage also for California followed this route; the 4 mules were driven in a smart canter and changed at these stations, where the passengers could get their meals.

The wagon made about 25 miles a day. E. J. Lewis & Fell did the cooking, while E. E. Lewis & Davis drove and took care of the team. The party had a good tent and a sheet iron stove. Some buffalo were seen and many deer, the buffalo in large herds were met with on the return. The party were all in good health and arrived at Denver without accident, April 17th. This was the central headquarters for the mining region, though there was but one principal house at this time, which was used as Postoffice, express & stage office though there were numerous tents, log cabins and temporary shelters for the 3,000 persons settled there. At Golden there were some 125 new houses being built: Here the route entered the mountains, the trail following Clear Creek to the Georgetown Gregory, or diggings, the destination. Here were found a good many miners prospecting, working some surface claims, a good deal of snow and cold weather. After looking about for a week or so, the company concluded to go over to the new prospect California Gulch or Leadville. And as provisions were terribly high, and there was no feed for the mules in the mountains, it was decided to sell out the surplus stock of groceries and send Davis & Thomas Fell (the latter came out in another wagon) back to the states with a four mule team for a load of groceries, while the others were prospecting. They left April 30th.

Good weather was encountered on the return trip, excepting at Fremont's Orchard, on the Platte, about the 7th of May a terrific blizzard and snow storm. It was so fierce that all teams were compelled to go into camp, many people supperless, the cold was very severe, much stock, mules and oxen, wandered away, and many of the travellers were storm struck for several days.

The road was almost lined with travellers bound for the new Eldorado, a few women in the crowd. Many Indians were seen. The route to St. Jo. left the Platte valley at Ft. Kearney, passing down the Little Blue, through Marysville, the frontier village, and from there through scattering farms to the Missouri River. While Mr Fell was buying and loading the supplies, Mr Davis made a hasty visit to Bloomington, spending a day there.

On the outward bound trip two passengers were taken, who paid \$50 for the privilege of walking along with the wagon and getting their board. Nothing of note occurred on his journey. There was plenty of company, the tide of travel still flowing strongly to the West.

Arriving at Denver word was received to bring the supplies to California Gulch, where the partners had taken up claims. The route was south to Colorado Springs, then a very small settlement of some 50 log houses, crossing the mountains through Ute Pass, near the base of Pikes Peak, into South Park, and over the range into the Arkansas valley. There had been some wagon travel over the trail, but in several instances the teams were detached from the wagon, the heaviest of the load packed on the mules, and taken up the steep hills, and the empty wagon drawn up alone. Arrived Cal Gulch July 9th.

California Gulch contained a few hundred miners, some log cabins with dirt roofs, and for a mile or more up the gulch there were rich claims and much work being done—prospectors were arriving daily and all surrounding country was staked off and being investigated.

The Bloomington Co. did not strike it rich, and after some weeks decided to face about for the States. So a public sale was made of surplus supplies. One team of mules sold, the other team and wagon traded for a light spring wagon and a pair of horses, that had just arrived from Wisconsin and the original company of four, excepting E. E. Lewis, started for Denver

July 23—where a halt of two or three weeks was made. Arrived Denver July 30.

Denver by this time had increased very considerably in population, with a few rough board and log houses, saloons, gambling houses &c &c with a great village of tents—and pretty reckless state of civilization. A vigilance com was formed, and some of the toughs shot.

Fell left the company here and joined a Bloomington party of six or 8, who built a boat, hoping to float down the Platte to Omaha, but after going about a third of the way, the water was so shallow they were compelled to abandon their boat and make their way to the Missouri river on foot.

Within a couple of weeks E. E. Lewis rejoined the party and the two Lewis' & Davis started homeward August 20th. Many others by this time having come to the same conclusion picks, shovels, and other heavy utensils were thrown away, and the tide was setting Eastward strongly.

The homeward trip was made leisurely, the team was much jaded, the weather was fine, no need of hurry. More time was spent with Indians, there being now many large Indian villages established along the route; buffalo meat and venison was easily obtained—there were large herds of buffalo often seen.

At Ft. Kearney the road to Omaha crossed to the north side of the river, which was forded Sept. 3, and soon scattering farms were passed, where milk, butter and vegetables could be bought. Reached Omaha Sept. 11, which was a small new rough place, Council Bluffs, an old town with brick block good hotel and stores. The route homeward across Iowa was through the third tier of counties from the Southern line of the state to Mt. Pleasant, thence to Burlington Sept. 24 then direct to Peoria and home in Bloomington Sept. 28th, penniless but in very robust health, and a profitable season in experience, knowledge of the frontier, observation in general that was c

great value to young men. A detailed account of this journey was published in the Daily Pantagraph August 2, 1902, by E. J. Lewis.

During the winter following Mr Davis made a visit to his home, and arranged to bring with him to Ills his brother James and sister Mary, and with them take up the business of farming accordingly on their arrival in March, possession was taken of their farm north of town, and the work of cultivating it entered upon vigorously. The threatened outbreak of the war of the rebellion burst upon the country in April, and as a result prices of most things were very much depressed, and the hard times of 57 continued. Corn sold at ten cents per bushel and other farm products in the same proportion, labor was low, money hard to get values unsettled, and a general feeling of anxiety and uncertainty, prevailed. The next year prices were higher, labor was scarce It was difficult to get the crops harvested, all of which increased until the close of the war. In the summer of 62 there was a call for volunteers to go to Springfield to guard several hundred prisoners who had been captured in battle. Bloomington sent down between 2 & 300, Mr Davis among the rest, who were duly mustered into the U.S. service for a couple of weeks. At this time Mr J. W. Fell was appointed a paymaster in the army, and he selected Mr Davis for his clerk. They reported at Louisville, Ky. for duty, where Mr Fell exchanged clerks with Maj Wm. Smith, afterwards Paymaster Gen; an officer of experience. Mr Fell got for assistant the Majors brother Rodney, a capable and competent man. The first work was at Indianapolis where a new regiment received advanced pay. Then five regiments of newly recruited Mich troops were each paid two months advance as soon as they were sworn in. These regiments were recruited at Detroit, Saginaw, Jackson, Kalamazoo, and Dowiac and Hillsdale. The next work was at Portland Ohio and Gallipolis, where four regiments raised in East Tenn. had been

chased away from home across Kentucky and driven half starved into Ohio, they were a patriotic and brave lot of men, without money, scantily equipped, had never received any pay, although in the service for several months. Robert son of Andrew Johnson was Col of one regt. Parson Brownlow's son was another officer, and many other notables were among the officers. The work of perfecting and correcting their organizations, so the payrolls would be proper and according to the forms of the War department was tedious and required a good deal of time. Some Kentucky regiments were paid at Lexington. Some troops were next paid on board the steamboats that were transporting them down the Ohio River, and also some at Cincinnati.

Next Maj Smith was ordered to Memphis, and they were taken down the Mississippi river from Cairo in the gunboat *Glide*, and some troops were paid on the Mobile & Ohio railway, as far out as Iuka & Holly Springs. Returning the Major was sent to Murfreesboro, Tenn, arriving just after the battle. The payment to this large body of men was largely in arrears and several other paymasters were sent to aid in the work. Maj Smith was placed in command of these assistants, so he paid Gen Rosencranz and his staff, and most ordinance, and detached officers; headquarters was in the village bank, where Mr Davis slept with the money chests, and a guard. This irregular way of living was affecting Mr Davis' health, and here he entirely broke down, and was compelled to resign his position and go home.

Jos. J. Lewis of Penna.,⁵ a co-worker with Mr Fell in the nomination of Pres. Lincoln, had been appointed Comr. of Internal Revenue at Washington. He offered to appoint anyone Mr Fell would name, a clerk in this department. Mr Fell named Mr Davis. This proved to be an opportune time for a

⁵ Joseph Jackson Lewis, 1801-1883, lawyer of West Chester, Pa., and U.S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue (1863-1865) was active in Republican politics. He wrote a campaign biography of Lincoln for the Chester County *Times* based upon information furnished him by Fell.

delightful wedding journey, that had been planned for a long time, so on the 17th of June 1863, W. O. Davis and Eliza Brown Fell were married. Only a few of the nearest relatives were present. The ceremony was performed early, followed by a wedding breakfast and the newly wedded pair, accompanied by Miss Mary Davis and J. Price Fell departed on the morning north bound Ill. Cen. train for Washington, passing through Chicago and arriving at Battle Creek Mich late at night, where a visit of a few days was made to Mr and Mrs Henry Court & Mrs Jones; continuing the journey a halt was made at Niagara Falls, New York City and at the Davis homestead at West Chester, Pa. Here Mr Davis left his bride for a month while he entered upon his new duties in Washington, and secured a house; a modest little five room house was found on 9th St. a few doors north of the Patent Office, and here the latter part of July housekeeping began. The life at the Capital was new and full of interest, of valuable information and experience, and the winter was delightfully spent, but Mr Davis' health would not stand the confinement of office work, and in March he resigned and returned to his farm in Illinois.

Within the next year or so he bought the interest of his brother James in the farm, who secured a tract of unimproved prairie near Arrowsmith. Mr Davis followed the business of farming with fairly good success until 1868, when in company with Mr J. W. Fell and James P. Taylor he bought The Pantagraph, soon thereafter disposed of his farm, moved to the city, and entered upon the business of publishing a newspaper.

The winter of '68, in order to be near his business, Mr Davis took boarding with his family, in the home of his father in law at Normal. During the winter he sold his farm, and in the spring moved into Bloomington, at 404 E. Douglass St.

The occasion for the purchase of The Pantagraph arose from a venture made by J. W. Fell, who wished to establish an educational journal in connection with the Normal University.

During a visit to West Chester Pa. he interested Jas. P. Taylor in the scheme, who was induced to set up a complete printing outfit in the skating rink building in Normal. Mr Taylor brought with him from West Chester Mr W. H. Whitehead a lawyer, for editor, and three printers. Mr Taylor soon discovered that this scheme would prove a failure, suggested buying *The Pantagraph*, and consolidating his plant with it. Mr Davis was invited to become a third owner, and the plan was carried out, and possession taken in Aug. The price paid for *The Pantagraph* was \$15,000. Taylor's outfit was put in at \$7,000—\$2,000 in cash added—making the total investment \$24,000.

The circulation of the *Daily* at this time was about 800 600 paying subscribers at twenty cents per week and the weekly about 1,000, at \$2.00 per year. There was a pretty good job printing outfit, but most of the material and presses were old fashioned and badly worn.

The addition of Taylor's new office greatly strengthened the property. Steam was added, a new newspaper press purchased, a new dress for the newspaper, and the office moved from the 2nd & 3rd stories of the building now occupied by Read & White, where it had been for many years, to the new Market House, cor of Center & Monroe. B. F. Diggs was continued as editor. W. H. Whitehead, who came from West Chester, with Mr Taylor was made city editor. Mr Taylor took general charge of all printing and machinery and especially the job office, and W. O. Davis became responsible for the counting room, and the newspaper.

Local politicians became alarmed at the possible danger of Mr Fells' activity in the political field with a newspaper in his control and Messrs Scibird & Waters,⁶ who had sold *The Pantagraph* to the new company, were soon in consultation with prominent political workers, regarding the establishment

⁶ John S. Scibird and Olin Waters.

of a new republican paper. The scheme was carried out and on Feb 22, 1869 *The Leader* was launched as a daily,⁷ with an incorporated Company of \$30,000—and including among its stockholders, in addition to Scibird & Waters, such prominent citizens [as] Dr. C. Wakefield, Gen G. A. Smith, P. Whitmer, W. C. Watkins, T. F. Mitchell, M. F. Leland, John L. Routt (Co Treas) &c &c. Diggs was made editor. Pat Day, the foreman of the Pantagraph Job office, secured, Ch. Steele and others of the best printers in The Pantagraph office, were hired. The old rooms vacated by the Pantagraph were leased and the new corporation started in fiercely to acquire as fast as possible the business of The Pantagraph. Scibird was made postmaster. The Leader secured the publishing of the delinquent tax list (a fat job then) and many other valuable contracts, through the influence of their stockholders.

The Pantagraph was strengthened by the engaging of Dr E. R. Roe for Editor, some new and efficient workmen were found and the conflict began in earnest and continued many years. The Leader for a time was a potent force, but gradually the stockholders began to lose interest, grew tired of being assessed for current expenses, then to disagree on political matters, and meanwhile the public kept in mind that The Pantagraph Co. had paid a heavy price for the good will and patronage of the old property, and that they were ill treated in not having given to them a clear field and this friendship that they were entitled to. So within two years or more The Leader passed into the possession of the sheriff, and was sold at public sale in payment of the debts against the corporation, to M. F. Leland, who had been the advertising solicitor. Something like \$3,000 & upwards in cash was paid for it. The sale was directed by Hon. A. E. Stevenson.⁸

⁷ W. O. Davis is correct in the date on which the *Daily Leader* was first published, but usually a number of weekly editions had appeared prior to that—a sort of feeling out of the field, as it were.

⁸ This was Adlai E. Stevenson who was to become vice-president in Grover Cleveland's second term.

Prior to this Mr Davis had bought out his partners and was conducting The Pantagraph alone. The property which at first lost money, gradually became to be better understood, the expenses were re-adjusted, the heavy opposition of The Leader was partly overcome, and three years after the first purchase there was shown to be some profit.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

THE BANDITTI OF THE PRAIRIES. A TALE OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY: AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF THRILLING ADVENTURES IN THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN COUNTRY. By Edward Bonney, Chicago, D. B. Cooke & Co., publishers, 1856.

George Davenport was murdered on July 4, 1845. Sixty-one years earlier he had been born in England. As a boy he went to sea, broke a leg rescuing a comrade in New York harbor and was left in the hospital there. Recovering, he enlisted in the United States Army and served ten years. At the end of the War of 1812, George Davenport was employed by an army contractor and in the spring of 1816 went with a detail of troops to Rock Island, Illinois. Fort Armstrong was to be built there to awe the Sauk and Fox Indians.

Davenport soon established an independent business of his own trading with the Indians. A year later he consolidated his trading interests with the American Fur Company—an Astor syndicate. His experience handling goods on the frontier made him a logical selection for the position of quartermaster-general in the Black Hawk War. The following year, 1833, he built a beautiful residence on Rock Island overlooking the Mississippi. In 1835 he purchased, with some associates, a tract of land on the Iowa shore and laid out the city bearing his name. For ten years Davenport enjoyed affluent life in the midst of the rural-river civilization which he had helped carve from the wilderness. Then he was murdered by a band of robbers.

A valuable little book, *The Banditti of the Prairies* by Edward Bonney, tells the story of the assault, and the pursuit and capture of the robbers. The author begins his chapter on the Davenport murder as follows:

On the western shore of Rock Island, looking over the main branch of the Mississippi, and facing Iowa, stands a beautiful residence, adorned by the hand of taste and wealth.

Here many years ago resided Colonel George Davenport. Rock Island had been his home for more than thirty years, and his name was identified with the recollections of the neighborhood, and its history, for a whole generation. He was universally loved and esteemed for his generous heart and social qualities. His wealth had been acquired as an Indian trader, and its acquisition had in no respect stained his honor,

for in all his dealings he had been honest and upright. He was an Englishman by birth, but had come to America at an early age. One of the first and true pioneers of the march of civilization in the great northwest, his hold upon the affections of the residents of that part of the territory was strong and abiding.

It was indeed peculiarly mournful that the Banditti of the Prairies, amid their outrages upon society, could not have passed by one so loved and so honored.

It was on the 4th of July, 1845. At the court house in the town of Rock Island, on the main land of Illinois, a large concourse of people assembled, among whom were the family and domestics of Colonel Davenport, to do honor to the glorious birth-day of American Independence. The old man remained at home alone. His family objected to leaving him thus unprotected, for there was a general fear of the Banditti, at that time in all parts of the northwest, between the Rock and Mississippi Rivers. He, however, insisted that all of them should attend the celebration, and disdained the idea that there was any cause whatever for alarm. The venerable old man could not believe that there was danger to him. Safely had he passed through the perils incident to a frontier life—the horrors of Indian warfare, and the dangers of a lonely residence on the very outskirts of civilization, and now that he was surrounded by all the blessings of a peaceful life, and in the midst of a long established community, it is no wonder that the old man could not realize the idea of danger. . . .

"Go," said the old Colonel, with a benevolent smile lighting up his wrinkled face, "Go, my friends, and enjoy yourselves, I feel secure from all harm."

After their departure, he seated himself in his parlor reading his newspaper, or following with a pleased gaze the turbulent motions of the Mississippi, as it rushed by the lovely island of his home. At length his attention was attracted by a faint noise in the vicinity of his well, which did not annoy him as he supposed it was made by some one engaged in drawing water. Presently hearing another noise, he arose from his chair to go and ascertain the cause of it, when the door was suddenly pushed open and three men stood before him.

Not a word was said, but almost instantly the foremost of the assassins discharged a pistol at the old man. The ball passed through his left thigh, and as the Colonel turned to grasp his cane, which stood near him, the three men rushed upon him, blindfolded him, pinioned his arms and legs with hickory bark, and dragged him by his long grey hair, cravat and shirt collar into the hall, and up a flight of stairs to a closet, containing an iron safe. This they compelled him to open, being unable from the peculiar structure of the lock to open it themselves. When he had unfastened the private bolt, they took out the contents, and then dragging him into another room, placed him upon a bed, and with terrible threats demanded more money. The old man pointed them with a feeble hand to a drawer in a dressing table near by. The murderers in their hurry missed the drawer containing the money, and opened one in which they found nothing of value. Enraged at their failure, and believing that their defenceless victim intended to deceive them; they flew upon him with vio-

ence, and beat and choked him until he passed into a state of insensibility. They then proceeded to recall his senses by dashing water in his face, and when he was restored again demanded money of him; and following the notions of his hand, for he was unable to speak, they again missed the proper drawer. Still more angry, if possible, than at first, they repeated their fiendish brutality upon his person, strangling him until he again fainted. Reviving him by throwing water in his face, and by pouring it down his mouth, they then threatened "to fry him upon coals of fire," if he did not disclose the place where the money had been left, and they would then burn his body in the flames of his own house. The old man fell back insensible, and totally unable to answer them.

The murderers having found between six and seven hundred dollars in money, a gold watch and chain, a double-barrelled shot-gun and pistol, fled precipitately, as if under the influence of some sudden fear, leaving the house sprinkled with blood from parlor to chamber, and the venerable old pioneer, apparently dead upon the bed.

Edward Bonney, author of this description, was the detective who tracked down and brought to justice most of the murderers. He gained their confidence by assuming the rôle of a counterfeiter. Before all were apprehended, Bonney himself was arrested for counterfeiting. In 1850 he published a defense of himself and a detailed account of his experiences catching the murderers. The first edition of this valuable little book appeared in paper covers with the title, *The Banditti of the Prairies, or, The Murderer's Doom!* Bonney seems to have published this book at his own expense. Six years later a commercial firm printed the book again, this time with a slightly new title, *The Banditti of the Prairies. A Tale of the Mississippi Valley: An Authentic Narrative of Thrilling Adventures in the Early Settlement of the Western Country.* This edition stated on the title page that it was the "twenty-fifth thousand." The book had become what might be called a best-seller. Later printings appeared in 1857 and 1858. All of these early editions have fetched high prices from collectors—sometimes as much as \$85. In 1900 the volume was reprinted, but later editions have only nominal value.

What makes this book so precious? A great many were printed and no doubt may still be found in attics and old trunks. In 1850 the story was no doubt exciting, but a modern reader will not be held by the narrative. Perhaps the most interesting things in the book are the descriptions of the habitations where Bonney found the conspirators. The following is a good example:

I dismounted at the edge of the forest, hitched my horse, and walked to the house, where I found "Old Mother Long," a meagre specimen of humanity, poorly clad, and besmeared with dirt, and the wife of Shack Lips, a female of about twenty years of age, of rather delicate features, but whose whole appearance was very little, if any, superior to that of the old mother of the house.

The furniture consisted of crippled chairs, half a dozen three-legged stools, two miserable beds; the bedsteads of which were made of rough poles, with the bark still on; an old rickety cupboard—a table made of a slab of timber, roughly hewn; a couple of iron kettles, half a dozen broken plates, as many knives and forks without handles, and a few tin cups.

Seating myself on a stool, I inquired for Mr. Phips, and was told that he was not at home.

"Is he expected soon? I would like to see him."

After watching me very sharply for a moment, as if to read the object of my mission, Mrs. Phips inquired:

"Does Phips owe you anything?"

"No," I replied.

"Do you live about here?"

"No; I live more than two hundred miles distant."

Possibly someone wrote this book for Bonney. A manuscript quite different from the printed version is in existence. Then, too, it is reasonable to expect that Bonney would have written another book after such a phenomenal success with his first, but his name does not appear again as author. In all probability there was a dusky ghost writer in the wood pulp. Whoever the author was, his description of the bandit's house quoted above is as good as anything in the book, but such passages are unskillfully repetitious. Note the monotony of expression between the previous quotation and the one below:

Leaving my horse at the edge of the wood, I approached the house cautiously on foot. The door was standing open, and within it, near the foot of the bed, sat a very old man. His appearance was wretched and poverty-stricken. An old woman and a young girl of sixteen were in the act of adjusting some portions of his dress, as I entered the room. Some bustle ensued upon my abrupt entrance. They however placed a stool for me to sit upon, and brought me some water to drink. I drank from a gourd shell, having a hole cut in its side; a very common substitute in some parts of our country for a dipper.

After some incidental conversation, the Old Coon, for it was Birch himself, upon whom I had intruded, inquired:

"Do you live in this part of the country?"

"No, I do not."

"Where do you, then?"

"In no particular place. I spend my time in traveling, speculating, etc."

The Banditti of the Prairies, strangely enough, influenced the title of another rare book which has become even more valuable than its precursor—*The Banditti of the Plains*. Published in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in 1894, the latter has nothing in common with Bonney's book except the title. A copy of this rare volume sold at auction in 1929 for \$260. The

author, Asa Shinn Mercer, was for years a newspaperman in Cheyenne, a champion of the cowboys and small settlers against the big outfits. The book's scarcity is due to the fact that descendants of many of the characters described, destroyed all the copies they could find. The volume at the University of Wyoming may be seen only by accredited persons. It is not surprising to learn that A. S. Mercer was born in 1839 in Bureau County, Illinois—heart of the Rock River banditti country a century ago. Mercer was in his early teens when Bonney's book made its phenomenal sale. Forty-four years later he used the similar title for his own work.

Today the Bonney book is notable as an example of crime story writing a hundred years ago. In addition, it sheds a sidelight on the relations between the Mormons in Nauvoo and their "Gentile" neighbors. Each group accused the other of being rascals and horse thieves. Nauvoo had a charter which excluded the county sheriff from the town's boundaries. Many outlaws took advantage of this immunity from state law in the Mormon city. The depredations of these fellows gave the whole town and the Latter Day Saints themselves an unwarranted reputation. Bonney, in his book, accuses Brigham Young of sheltering these outlaws. He also refers to William Hickman, who later became notorious in Utah as Brigham Young's Destroying Angel. A sidelight on the sidelight may be found in the diary of William Clayton, one-time secretary to Joseph Smith and official Recorder of Revelations. In a random entry Clayton calls Bonney one of the "bogus snakers of Nauvoo," i.e. a counterfeiter of the "long green." Evidently Edward Bonney was not held in high esteem by the church's Committee of Twelve.

HISTORICAL NOTE

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION

Several hundred people were in Ford's Theatre on the evening of April 14, 1865, when John Wilkes Booth shot Abraham Lincoln. Many of them wrote their impressions of that tragic night. The different narratives tell materially the same story but any new account by an eyewitness deserves publication. Recently the Illinois State Historical Library obtained a packet of old letters. Most of them were from Mrs. Helen A. Du Barry to her mother. Helen Du Barry's father and husband, referred to in the letters below, were both graduates of West Point. At the time these letters were written, her father, John Bratt, had resigned from the Army but he was employed as Purveyor in the Subsistence Department for Cadets at the U.S. Military Academy. Her husband, Major Beckman Du Barry ("Beck" in the correspondence), was on duty in Washington as Assistant to the Commissary General of Subsistence. Two of the letters are reproduced below exactly as they were written.

WASHINGTON. D.C.
April 16th/65.

MY DEAR MOTHER

Beck has not come from the Office yet and I have not received your letter but as I have a good deal to write I will begin now. I suppose by tomorrow the mail will go out from Washin No trains left yesterday. What I have to write is with reference to the great Tragedy which has caused a Nation to mourn. I had the misfortune to be at Ford's Theatre on Friday evening & to hear the shot which deprived us of a President.

It was given out during the day that Mrs Lincoln had engaged a "Box" for the *President & Genl. Grant* and having a desire not only to see them but to see the "American cousin" performed, we determined to go. Before we went Beck knew that the Genl. would not be there as he was to leave for his home in the evening. We went a few moments before the time & waited some time for the President to arrive & as he did not come until late the performances commenced & we thought we were to be disappointed in not seeing him. In the mid'st of the 2nd scene there was a great applause & cheering and our attention was directed from the stage to the Dress circle—close to the wall—walked Miss Harris—Mrs Lin

coln—Major Rathbun—a gentleman the President & another gentleman behind him. These two gentleman were *watchman* in citizens dress who have *always* accompanied the President since the War commenced We followed him with our eyes until he entered the Box little thinking we were looking for the last time at him. He sat looking on the stage his back to us and out of our sight behind the flags except occasionally when he would lean forward. Mrs Lincoln was in front of him and we only saw her occasionally. We saw her smile & turn towards him several times. It was while every one's attention was fastened upon the stage that a pistol shot was heard causing every one to jump (as an unexpected shot will) & look up at the President's Box merely because that was the direction of the sound and supposing it to be part of the performance we all looked again on the stage—when a man suddenly vaulted over the railing of the box—turned back & then leaped to the stage—striking on his heels & *falling* backward but recovered himself in an instant and started across the stage to behind the scenes flourishing a knife—the blade of which appeared in the reflection of the bright lights to be half as long as a man's arm—and making use of the expressions you have seen in the Papers. He had nearly disappeared before we could understand what it was or what had happened. We first thought it was a crazy man—when he jumped on to the stage we all jumped to our feet & stood spell bound—as he crossed the stage some few started towards the stage crying—our President! our President is shot! catch him—hang him! Miss Harris was seen to lean over the railing for water & that was all that broke the stillness in that box. If those watch had called out as soon as the man jumped to give us *an idea* of what had happened he could have been caught as he stopped to recover himself after the fall. There was not a soul to be seen in the Box and perfect stillness there—which all added to our bewilderment—one man got up on a chair on hearing that the man was caught—& said “take out the ladies & hang him here on the spot.” Beck fearing a mob hurried me out—leaving the audience still standing awed & speechless. We waited outside until a young man came out & said “He is dead—no doubt about it!”

Before we got out of the door some one said “It was J. Wilkes Booth” and before I got out, the idea that our Chief was gone—almost our sole dependence—overcome me & I could not control myself & sobbed aloud We met several outside the door just coming in asking “For God's sake tell me is it true? as if they had heard already rumors of the great tragedy. The reason that we could not suddenly realize what had occurred was because we could not anticipate that an assassin could be in the Box with the President. His only danger seemed to be from a shot fired by one of the audience

Booth entered the front door and asked some one there if Genl. Grant was there that night—then went along to the door of the Box—just where we had seen the President enter—knocked at the door & to the *watch* who opened it, said he wished to speak to the President, that he had a communication for him showing an Official envelope & giving him a card with the name of a Senator written on it. The watch stepped aside & the assassin entered & fired immediately while Mr Lincoln was looking on the stage.

The excitement that night was intense & a mob of about 2000 went to the Old Capitol Prison to burn it & they called upon the people to come out & see the rebels burn. The Police & troops were out & put a stop to it or it would have been done. The assassin at Seward's first stabbed the nurse through the lungs & *killed* him I believe—knocked in the skull of Fred Seward with a butt of a pistol & stabbed another son—all had opposed his entrance and the old man hearing the scuffle at the door & thinking it was some one after him, rolled out of bed on to the floor and the assassin had to lean over the bed to stab him so he only had two cuts—on his neck & face—which will not prove serious if he has strength after his former sickness. There is no doubt that it was Booth who killed the President. Laura Keane says she can testify that it was him.

The secessionists here have *all* draped their houses in crape—and acknowledge that it was the worst thing for the South that ever happened—their best friend is gone & Andy J.—will be more severe than ever Lincoln was—Andy Johnson joined the Temperance Society after the Inauguration and every one who saw him at his own Inauguration were much pleased with his manner as he seemed impressed with the responsibility before him.

There are rumored changes to be made in the Cabinet already. There was a strange coincidence at the Theatre Friday evening. In the play the American Cousin won the prize at Archery and on receiving the medal was congratulated. He said he "had'nt done nothing—all it required was a steady hand a clear eye—to pull the trigger & the mark was hit" as he said it he looked right up at the President.

That was in the play & he looked there merely because he was the principal person present but afterwards it struck every one as a strange coincidence.

On Friday Beck received a letter from *Duane* who is a prisoner at Point Lookout begging him to forget the Past & to find out for him if he would be allowed to take the oath of allegiance to the U.S. that he was sick enough of the Confederacy and very sorry he had ever had any thing to do with it. That afternoon Beck went to the Comg Genl. of prisoners

but he was out—and of course after the awful tragedy Beck did not feel like interceding for a rebel I do not know what he will do now—he may go to Genl. Grant—if Hoffman won't do anything. Don't say anything about it.

I suppose you have read all I have told you, in the Papers but being there myself I supposed you would like to hear it over just as I saw it. The Authorities think that there is no chance for the assassins to escape but I think it is like hunting for a needle in a haystack. Your letter did not come today and when ever it does not come by Sunday it is because you have left it to tell the latest news of Adèle and when you wrote last she was a little troubled with her throat. I had a letter from Maggie to-day

I will send this letter today before getting your's. If you send me word how much cloth it takes for Adèle's sacque I can buy it here & make it if I had the pattern. I have forgotten how wide the material was that Mrs Foster bought—but if I know the length of her sacque & the width of the half at the bottom I can tell how much it would take when I see Mrs Foster about the width of the material. We are well & send love—with kisses to adèle.

Your aff dau

HELEN DuB.

TUESDAY WASHINGTON. D.C.

April 25th/65

MY DEAR MOTHER

Your letter did not arrive until this morning and I began to think you were waiting for me to answer your last as I wrote before receiving it. Joe paid us a short visit last Wednesday. He came to make arrangements for the President's remains to be carried over his road. We found him here on our return from witnessing the procession.

I went with Mrs Foster & the family she is boarding with who had engaged a room with three windows in the fourth Story of a house on the avenue. Beck & the Col. had to take part in the procession. We had a splendid view of it and it was the largest one I had ever seen. It was two hours passing us. I suppose N.Y. will do better than that today. Did either go to the city? You might go over to Garrison's as the train passes. The car which carries the remains was just finished & intended for his use—living. I did not go to the White House to see him. Beck did not want to go & I would not go in such a crowd alone. I am very sorry I did not go—perhaps it is for the best as I have been so nervous since that awful night that I feel almost prostrated in health and any more excite-

ment of the kind would not benefit me much—They say the scene in the house that day were *terribly* solemn—the house so dark with black—the stillness of death—and the four Generals as sentinels by the corpse looking solemn & sad—all made the people realize more forcibly what a dreadful thing had happened. Poor Mrs Lincoln has not left her bed since he died & they had to close the doors a half hour before the appointed time as the steady tramp tramp of the people was making her wild so that she did not recognize her own son. To think that his wife's presence did not stay the murderers hands. It is thought by a few who pretend to know that Booth is surely caught and the Authorities do'n't wish it known. There is a great deal known that is not allowed to be published There is a family of *Greenes* under arrest for having kept him all night on *Friday*. They are a good family here & live by the Potomac

Joe staid all night with us and left early the next morning. I have not heard from Carrie in some time. There is an advertised letter for me in the P.O. which they say they are not ready to deliver yet. It is very funny—they must be examining letters. Has Mrs DeJanon got to W.P. yet? I see *Lou* flourishing about here with Officers. I saw her with one at church Sunday. We think of going next Sunday to Alexandria to attend the church that Genl. Washington attended. It will be an interesting trip—Col. Foster gave us two bonds of the Confederate loan which he brought up from Charleston. I have finished my green dress and it looks good as new. I am on the pink plaid pineapple—putting a lining in the skirt & flouncing it. I am rather glad the trunk holds off as there is enough work here to keep me busy. You need not send the claret silk as I shall not need it before Fall. If you write as soon as you get this it will bring the letters all right again. I had a letter from Maggie last week I suppose she is home. I have not heard a word from Emma since that letter he wrote. wonder how they get along If Maggie goes down perhaps she would go to see her to enquire—tell her to go & see the baby—give them all much love & kisses to Adèle from papa & Mama

Yours aff
HELEN

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

A CIVIL WAR NEW YEAR'S PARTY

After the battle of Belmont [Nov. 7, 1861], many ladies had come down to spend a "last New Year" with the beloved husband, brother, or son, well armed with luxuries, from roast turkeys and jellies, to damask table-cloths and silver of the purest. The coming of New Year's to the poor boys who had lived through the first seasoning process of hard tack, rail beds, and surface water, meant the coming of friends, and the coming of friends meant heaven upon earth. Home-sickness would vanish for a time, marches would cease for a day, lovers would interchange words of affection, and parent and child would again be clasped heart to heart. The thought was intoxicating, and, as the day approached, every one seemed almost overcome with joy.

Said Colonel Wallace:¹ "Coatsworth,² let us have one more happy New Year, for the next we may spend in——eternity." It was truly their last on earth! Desiring the indispensable cake for the day, and having no knowledge where to procure it, I hastened to the "Hotel de Louvre," the dining-room of Colonel Oglesby's³ mess. His cook, Lott, could manufacture out of one dish, broiled partridge, roast quail, grouse, prairie chicken, bear-steak, and fried frogs; and there was no telling what he might make out of the ingredients necessary for a New Year's cake. Lott was a genius in his art, and all the camp knew it, and turned to him in emergencies. As I entered his savory "sanctum," I found his tall figure in the midst of great preparations. He made a very low bow, while his smile of welcome was reflected from every tin dish in the room, and its walls were amply adorned in that way.

I asked for his receipt, and he replied:

"O, yes, missus; ye takes four pounds of flour; den ye turns round and takes twelve eggs; den ye turns round and takes four pounds sugar; den ye turns round and takes four pounds butter; and den ye turns round

¹ William Henry Lamb Wallace, of Ottawa, Illinois, was at this time Colonel of the 8th Illinois Infantry. He died on April 10, 1862, of wounds received on April 6 in the Battle of Shiloh.

² Dr. George Coatsworth, the author's husband, was a surgeon in the 88th Regiment Illinois Volunteers. He was killed at Stone River, Tenn., January 9, 1863.

³ Richard J. Oglesby, Colonel of the 8th Illinois Infantry, and Governor of Illinois, 1865-1869.

and takes two pounds raisins; and den ye turns round and takes half pound citron, half pint o' brandy, and ye beats them all up togeder," and suiting the word to the action, he beat his fingers against the empty tin, and continued: "Den ye turns round and takes half an ounce of nutmeg, half an ounce of cinnamon, half an ounce of mace; and den—and den ye finishes it up with—out of yer memory," said he, with a grand flourish of his hands (as if he hadn't been doing that all the time).

"O, Lott, do stop; you've turned round until you've got my wits all turned topsy-turvy, and I am sure no cake would ever come out fit to be seen from such a receipt. If you'll make the cake, I'll find the ingredients, and pay you for your trouble."

"Happy, missus, too happy, no trouble, no pay; and I'll turn around and make a cake dey'd be proud to sit on de Sherman house, at Chicago, for New Year's calls." True to his word, in due time the cake came forth as light and snowy as though beaten with silver wires, and frosted with the breath of winter.

At twelve o'clock, December 31, 1862 [1861], the silence of night was broken by a serenade. It was from Colonel Wallace's band, every one of whom had received a medal for fine and superior performance, in the grand test of skill at home. Their attainments were indeed wonderful, and all listened when Wallace's band drew nigh. The witchery of its strains this night were stronger than ever, as they stole softly upon the sleepers' dreams at one moment, and shook the dark forest with their resoundings at another. The whole encampment was aroused and spell-bound. They withdrew from beneath the gallant Colonel's window just in time to make room for Colonel Oglesby's band, which gave an equal feast of song and harmony; then passed away to give place to the band of the "hero of Belmont," Colonel H. Dougherty.⁴ Thus in turn did seven serenades warn us of the rising day. The camp-grounds before daylight were up and ready and with dawn as wild a season of merriment and arch mimicry commenced as ever graced an Italian carnival. Negroes became major generals, mules were tricked out in ribbons and trails, horses hooded and spectacled, sanitary representatives were led from hospital to hospital in the heaven-appointed duty of inspection, and nothing could exceed the hilarity of the occasion. As the old plantation so lately resounded beneath the groans of the wounded from the recent battle of Belmont, so now, in contrast, it groaned and shook beneath the merriment and joy of the poor soldiers, whose willing officers permitted them all the innocent pleasure they could get from the short interval so soon to terminate in a long succession of hard fought battles.

STELLA S. COATSWORTH, *The Loyal People of the North-West* (Chicago, 1869), 93-96.

⁴ Henry Dougherty, Colonel of the 22nd Regiment Illinois Volunteers.

GOVERNOR FORD'S VIEW OF ILLINOIS POLITICS

There are two kinds of professional politicians; though they both aim at the same thing,—the acquisition of office. The one sort are clever, timid, moderate, and accommodating; the other kind are bold, sanguine, and decided. The first sort will agree for the time being, to anything, and with anybody. These men aim to be affable, pleasant, facetious, and agreeable. They make it a matter of calculation never to contradict, to advocate no opinion, to give no offence, to make no enemies, and to be amiable and agreeable to all. They are called by the others "milk and water men," and are much despised by the bold, decided, ultraist. Sometimes the "milk and water" man has the advantage; for as he swims and slides easily and smoothly along, never contradicting, accommodating to all, and friendly to all, he has frequently to be taken up in party contests, as the "most available candidate." The other sort of professed politicians are the men of energy and action. They are the foremost in the fight with the common enemy. They are the orators for the people; the writers for the newspapers; the organizers and disciplinarians of party; the denouncers of treachery and defection; and work night and day for victory in the party contests. They are always much despised by the opposite party in politics; and are always selected as especial objects of abuse and detraction. The minority party frequently have credit enough to destroy the popularity of a champion of the enemy, even with his own party. He is hated among the best men of his opponents. These opponents may have no direct political influence out of their own ranks; but many of them are credited as gentlemen of veracity; their statements in relation to mere persons are believed even by political opponents. These statements, though often prompted by political hatred, are uttered boldly, and with an appearance of candor, by men who are fair dealers, good neighbors, and known to speak the truth in all matters of neighborhood concernment. The popularity of the champion is destroyed. He cannot get all the votes of his own party, and not one from amongst his opponents. He is no longer considered to be an available candidate, and has to give place, in all doubtful contests, to his inoffensive "milk and water" compatriot. For this is a rule with all parties to select only such candidates as can get the largest vote.

A politician, however, of the decided, sanguine kind, if he is a man of sense and tact, if he knows how far to go in the advocacy of his own party, and when to stop; if he knows how to abuse the opposite party, without giving personal offence; is in the surest road to advancement. This kind of politician is most usually for extreme measures. Nothing moderate will suit him. He must be in advance of everybody else. He aims

to be a leader; and to be one he thinks he must be ahead in everything. In the democratic party he is an ultraist; he can hardly find measures sufficiently democratic to suit him. He is a tactician, a disciplinarian; ever belongs to some organization; never bolts a nomination, and never votes against his own party. In the whig party, he is an old federalist; he has no confidence in the people for self-government; he is in favor of a property qualification for electors, and is always against the democrats, right or wrong, and against everything democratic, and firmly believes all the time that the country is just going to be ruined. But in whatever party he may be, whenever that party is dominant, he aims to be considered a better party man, to work truer in the party harness than any one else, and if he can so distinguish himself, he mounts at once to the leadership. All the active office-seeking tribe are first his allies, and afterwards his followers. It is a fact well known that one party is governed by the office-holders, and the other by the office-hunters.

THOMAS FORD, *A History of Illinois* (Chicago, 1854), 289-91.

AN OPTIMISTIC PREDICTION 100 YEARS AGO

The Albany Argus says, in the conclusion of an interesting article on the dependence of eastern towns on the west, for their growth—

"New York, if she wills, can still hold her present command over the western trade; but this will require immediate efforts, such as will test the energies of her merchants. He is blind who does not see that, at the present time, she is menaced by a spirit of competition on the part of wealthy, enterprising, and powerful cities, such as never before occurred in her past history. But, with an effort, she holds the game in her own hands. The western trade is a prize worthy of those who would struggle for the colossal commercial power of America. A city sustained by that trade, can never languish; for the increase of production of the western states is almost boundless. Its city must be far greater than even Alexandria or Thebes. So long as New York remains at the head of the western trade, where our state pride and her own commanding position justify place her, she must irresistibly advance in wealth, influence, and population, until she will be known not only as the great city of America, but as the great city of the world."

Most of the positions of the Argus are sound. New York undoubtedly has it in her power to hold more of the western trade than any other eastern city; but it should be remembered that the centre of trade in the country is likely to follow the centre of population, which has already

in its westward course, reached the top of the Alleghanies. We lay it down as susceptible of demonstration, that the great city of America will be in the midst of, and not far from, the centre of the great *population* of America. Every man of tolerable intelligence knows that the centre is shortly to be in the great western valley. Including Canada, the North American Valley already has eleven of the twenty-one millions under the Anglo-Saxon dominion. This valley will have—

In 10 years,	16,500,000
20 "	23,100,000
30 "	32,340,000
40 "	45,276,000
50 "	63,286,400
60 "	88,600,960
70 "	124,040,134
80 "	173,656,000
90 "	231,540,333
100 " [1946].	308,721,777

To come to this result, we have allowed the increase for the first ten years to be 50 per cent, being nearly 24 per cent less than the increase of the western states from 1830 to 1840. After that, and down to eighty years, we have allowed 40 per cent, being 4 per cent more than the increase of the white population of all the free states, old and new, from 1830 to 1840. From eighty years down, the rate allowed for each ten years is 33 1/3 per cent, being the present rate of increase of the whole country.

HUNT's *Merchants' Magazine* (Feb., 1846), 163.

BOOK REVIEWS

Midwest at Noon. By Graham Hutton. (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1946. 350 pp. \$3.50.)

Graham Hutton, who spent five years in the Midwest as Director of the Office of British Information, presents his impressions of this section of the United States. Although not profound, the book is an appreciative and sympathetic interpretation of the Midwest.

There are detailed reports on almost every conceivable topic, from the weather to newspapers, which reveal Mr. Hutton's thorough knowledge of the region based on 100,000 miles of travel. The humorous invective on the extremes and severity of Midwest climate, which Mr. Hutton believes should forever be excluded from the temperate zone, is one of the most fascinating sections of the book. The discussion of the press is interesting, if for no other reason than the omission of any reference to the *Chicago Tribune*.

The brief study of the development of the Midwest is excellent. Mr. Hutton feels that the two great periods of development, the era of primary pioneering and agricultural settlement up to 1860 and the era of urban industrialism, are reflected in the life of the area today and that the two epochs go on living side by side. A significant observation is that the businessman was the revolutionary who made the new Midwest of trade industry, and business, of which he became the model and the ideal.

Mr. Hutton's basic position is that Midwesterners are "a youthful and romantic people with an overmastering belief in themselves and their children." Once reformists and radicals, they have become more conservative and traditional, but they are "still paradoxical and extreme, full of the contrariness and confusion of youth." The Midwesterner believes in equality, but the practical equality enjoyed is "largely that of his fellow in the same income brackets." As for liberty, which is very much the Midwest credo, it is "the individual's freedom within a sharply defined pattern of society laid down in advance but generally interpreted by the local authorities."

Although Mr. Hutton believes that 1929 marks the "high noon" of the Midwest, he is not pessimistic about the "afternoon" of wider uniformity in which it is becoming fused with the East to form the industrial North. The area, he feels, "carries many breaks and safeguards taken

from its own past," and, in the future, it may not only be decisive in American affairs, but even in the affairs of the world.

Rockford College.

STANLEY ERIKSON.

The Story of Shiloh. By Otto Eisenschiml. (The Civil War Round Table: Chicago, 1946. 89pp. Limited de luxe edition, boxed, \$5.00.)

Here is the first vivid, historically accurate monographic account of one of the bloodiest Civil War battles of the West. This book, replete with Grant's Shiloh blunders, gives the reader not only sound history, but good drama as well. The author, a noted scholar of the Civil War era, finds Shiloh particularly fascinating, first, for historical reasons, and second, because his father fought in that engagement.

Otto Eisenschiml, in keeping with his opinion that Shiloh was "the most dramatic battle ever fought on American soil, if not the most dramatic battle ever fought anywhere" (p. 10), does a masterly job in unfolding the setting for the encounter. This background, although well written and itself fine drama, is preceded by several paragraphs of speculation, which take history from fact to fantasy. Most readers will be less impressed by the "ifs" of Shiloh than by the pages gripping the tenseness of the days during which the battle took form. This is followed by a striking account, rendered in good style, of the ebb and flow of the battle itself. In the end, Halleck, military pedant, takes a richly deserved whipping. His snail-like pursuit of the retreating Confederates certainly evokes reflection. With keen insight the author questions why Lincoln dismissed McClellan for bogging down on the impossible terrain of the Virginia peninsula, while elevating Halleck to the supreme command of General-in-Chief after staging the post-Shiloh farce of pursuing the defeated Confederate forces. In this connection the case of Colonel Thomas Worthington, material not previously treated, emerges as a criminal Radical intrigue. We are assured, however, that not a particle of evidence exists to support Worthington's theory. Nevertheless, Dr. Eisenschiml believes there is much circumstantial evidence to support this contention in the period's sources) that a study of the Civil War "almost forces one to the belief that some kind of conspiracy was afoot to prolong the war . . . [and] to arouse sectional hatred until reconciliation with the South would be impossible" (p. 56).

This book is more than a mere battle account, and for that reason it is well entitled *The Story of Shiloh*. Some of the material presented is of personal and sentimental interest to the author. The battle and its background, plus a biographical sketch of DeLong Rice (early superintendent

of Shiloh National Military Park and colleague of the author in Shiloh lore), as well as some episodes in the section entitled "Notes," make up the volume. Only when one ponders at length the author's purpose, does much of the matter presented seem pertinent. At any rate, would not a few omissions have been desirable?

Throughout *The Story of Shiloh* one sees a sharp analytical mind at work. Evidence is carefully weighed, while the pros and cons of the Shiloh controversies are discreetly considered. In addition to skillfully combining drama with history—and your reviewer believes good history is always good drama—the author certainly has captured the spirit of his subject. The result is an exciting, yet sound piece of historical writing.

The monograph is handsomely done in its limited de luxe edition of Devon antique paper by the Norman Press of Chicago. Sale of an inexpensive paper edition on the site of Shiloh National Military Park was recently authorized by the National Park Service.

Oklahoma A. & M. College.

LEROY H. FISCHER.

Singin' Yankees. By Philip Dillon Jordan. (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1946. 316 pp. \$3.50.)

For the reader who wants to know how people lived and felt in the years preceding and after the Civil War, this story of the Hutchinson singers is one he must read.

Singin' Yankees will appeal to the historian because of its factual material, to the folklorist because of the wealth of folklore presented both in song and story, and to the general reader, because the author knows how to tell a good story.

Mr. Jordan's main source of material was from newspapers both in the United States and abroad, from relatives and friends of the Hutchinson family and from the letters, diaries, and scrapbooks of the Hutchinsons themselves.

With a New Hampshire farm as a background, this group of singers played a dramatic part in the stirring events of the times. Their decision to be something more than mere entertainers came after their considerable success in concerts in New York. Jesse was discussing the purpose of the concerts with his brothers "As I see it, the family's got to remember it singin' fer money. That comes first. . . . Now, how much we make depends on what we sing and how we sing. The *how* part of it is all right. The *what* bothers me. If we just go in fer entertainment we'll do good, but not good enough. If we hold to whoopin' it up for temperance and abolition, we're bound to lose too. Mix entertainment and abolition an' I think we'll

farther and faster than any competitor. Some folks'll come to hear us fer pleasure. Some'll come because they like our views. That way, we get both. See what I mean?"

With this idea they built their programs designed to please everyone except "alcoholics, bloodletters, and slaveholders." Jesse was right, for the newspapers in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston took sides and they became the best known group in the country, with people fighting for seats at their concerts.

One very interesting feature of the book is the inclusion of many of the lyrics programmed by the Hutchinsons. They were a creative family and composed a great number of songs that were essential to their peculiar type of programs. Their skill in writing parodies on well-known songs to fit a particular occasion made them especially effective in any political or moral campaign to which they gave their support.

Occasionally at very informal gatherings the Hutchinsons would sing some of the folk songs that were a part of their cultural inheritance from New England. "Barbara Allen," a tragic love ballad and one of the best known of the old ballads, was one of these. Another was the old sailor chantey "Clar de Kitchen" which has survived in Southern Illinois as a singing game.¹ The struggles involved in the establishment of the frontier settlement of Hutchinson, Minnesota, provide another insight into the daring spirit of this remarkable family.

As the reader goes with the Hutchinsons on their concert tours in the East, in England, in the Middle West, in California, and in the South, and gets the reaction of their audiences to their songs of reform he sees a vivid picture of this unsettled and tragic period of American history.

Southern Illinois Normal University.

DAVID S. McINTOSH.

Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography. (Social Science Research Council: New York, 1946. viii, 178 pp., \$1.75.)

This very learned treatise on the writing of history was prepared, after much discussion of the problem, "to help clarify thought about history and to aid historians in teaching and writing it." In the "Foreword," Merle Curti states that the committee "hopes that its report will prove helpful to graduate students of history, to lay writers of history, and to the profession itself."

This reviewer certainly would not suggest *Reader's Digest* vocabulary and organization for such a study, but honestly believes that more mem-

¹ David S. McIntosh, *Southern Illinois Singing Games and Songs* (St. Louis, 1946), 27.

bers of each of the above groups would find it useful if certain sections were less erudite and verbose. Such terms as "heuristic principles," "epistemologies," "ontological considerations," and "creative redetermination" may be useful, but they will discourage some intelligent persons from using what is otherwise an excellent preliminary approach to a subject which needs much serious consideration.

Charles A. Beard in his excellent essay on "Grounds for Reconsideration of Historiography," points to the tendency of "practical persons" as well as workers in other humanistic sciences to cite their own versions of "history-as-actuality." He believes this sufficient reason for soul-searching by the historical profession. John Herman Randall, Jr., and George Haines, IV, have contributed a section on "Controlling Assumptions in the Practice of American Historians."

Howard K. Beale, in an essay, "What Historians Have Said about the Causes of the Civil War," illustrates what has already been said by "a case study of the treatment of 'causality' in specific historical works." Perhaps because it gets down to brass tacks, it is the most readable and most enjoyable portion of the book.

Sidney Hook's attempt to define historical concepts in philosophical terms is very learned and, in small doses, enjoyable. The present reviewer has not read past "dialectic."

Chapter V consists of "propositions" in historiography. The writing, criticism, and revising of this section itself has an interesting history inasmuch as a majority of the historians to whom it was submitted did not accept it as originally written. Ronald Thompson concludes the volume with an excellent nineteen-page "Selective Reading List on Historiography and the Philosophy of History."

The committee's report "makes no claim to having 'settled' any of the issues with which it has dealt." Like Pilate it raises the question of the nature of truth and does not tarry for the answer.

HUBERT G. SCHMIDT.

William Beaumont's Formative Years: Two Early Notebooks 1811-1821. With annotations and an introductory essay by Genevieve Miller (Henry Schuman: New York, 1946. xvi, 88 pp., \$6.00.)

Dr. William Beaumont, well known to medical history for his experiments in human digestion, kept during his period of training and early practice two notebooks, one medical and the other general. Both, carefully edited and annotated, are reproduced here in their entirety. The first contains excerpts from books, detailed case histories, prescriptions, and

comment on medical practice during the War of 1812. The second intermingles literary quotations with diaries of Army life and Western travel.

Much of the text has been previously quoted in Jesse S. Myer's *Life and Letters of Dr. William Beaumont* (1912), but the editorial treatment and fuller text, the artistic style and general craftsmanship, and the score of excellent offset illustrations taken from drawings of the period justify the printing of this volume.

The medical notebook gives a brief glimpse of Beaumont the doctor. His meticulous cleanliness, belief in fresh air, moderation (for that day) in bleeding and dosing, and experimental approach were unusual. At that time one wonders that a certain "healthy young lady" survived her own dosing of laudanum, and the bleeding, emetics, cathartics, saline draughts, opiates, quinine, and snakeroot prescribed by Beaumont. A week later she was "so far recovered as to ride in Waggon . . . , 20 miles in a day, got married, & enjoyed—good health."

The best parts of the general notebook are the diary of the Canadian expedition in 1812, which seemingly justifies the burning of York, and that of Beaumont's journey via canalboat, stagecoach, and lake steamer to Mackinac in 1820.

Beaumont took Beaumont and the world seriously. He described Niagara meticulously, cultivated Jedidiah Morse for "benefit and instruction," disapproved of "dissipation" by post officers, and made a greater effort to attain Franklin's "moral perfection" than Franklin himself. It is somewhat of a relief to find him penning effusions to his lady love, reading poetry at midnight (he despised "love-sick novels"), and on one occasion gazing at an elephant "14. ft. high & every way in proportion."

This little volume does what it purports to do—it portrays Beaumont's formative years.

HUBERT G. SCHMIDT.

The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology. (Social Science Research Council: New York, 1945. 243 pp. \$1.50.)

Essays by Louis Gottschalk, Clyde Kluckhohn, and Robert Angell, with a foreword by Robert Redfield make up this volume. They deal with the use of personal documents in the fields of history, anthropology, and sociology, and discuss the types of material in these fields that can be called personal; the value to be found in them; and the limitations and problems that such human documents present. These monographs were prepared for the Committee on Appraisal of Research of the Social Science Research Council.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

The 106th Cavalry Group in Europe, 1944-1945. (Augsburg, Germany, 1945. 254 pp. \$2.50.)

Illinois has always claimed as its own the 106th Cavalry. Its story in Europe, 1944-1945, has been written by the men who fought the actions, each one telling the story as he saw it. The accounts are told well but in haste so that the book might be published before the men of the unit were scattered.

The book was printed at Augsburg, Germany, and bears witness to the excellent printing and publishing still possible in Germany. Type and paper are admirable.

For the men of the unit and for the families of those who gave their lives, this book should be a treasured possession. It abounds in excellent photographs and maps. The appendix contains lists by troop and squadron of those who served, those killed or missing in action, and those who have received awards.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Douglas as a Chicagoan. By Thomas Temple Hoyne. (Chicago, 1946. 16 pp.)

This address was delivered before the Iroquois Club in Chicago on Tuesday, April 23, 1946, by Thomas Temple Hoyne, former newspaper man and writer. It commemorated the one hundred and thirty-third anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas. As a Chicagoan, Douglas owned much city real estate. He donated the ground for the first site of the University of Chicago. Numerous anecdotes are told of his kindness, his philanthropy, and his foresight, and the oft repeated account of his patriotism and support of Lincoln after the outbreak of the Civil War. Mr. Hoyne's father remembered Douglas as a near neighbor. The author's father and grandfather—Thomas Hoyne, former mayor of Chicago—used to attend political rallies and listen to Douglas speak.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Lincoln's Other Mary. By Olive Carruthers and R. Gerald McMurtry. (Ziff-Davis Publishing Co.: Chicago, 1946. 229 pp. \$2.50.)

The lure of the mysterious in Lincoln studies is attested by the multiplicity of writings dealing with the riddle of Ann Rutledge and the puzzling features of Lincoln's relationship with Mary Todd on the one hand, and the relative lack of interest in the affair with Mary Owens, where all the pertinent data has long been available, on the other.

Now, however, we have a competent—and what is probably the

complete—treatment of this courtship in *Lincoln's Other Mary* by Olive Carruthers and R. Gerald McMurtry. This is a fictional account, buttressed by an appendix which summarizes the literature of the subject and gives all the documentary material that bears upon it.

The narrative is well done and the fictional embellishment does not distort the facts, while original research has resulted in the discovery of new data regarding Miss Owens' cultural and educational background.

Purists may dislike the fictional approach. Yet, as in so many phases of Lincoln's life, one wonders if "prosaic documentation" is sufficient for real comprehension, and if some play of the imagination may not be justified so long as it is recognized as such. There are dangers in this, it must be confessed, but the reviewer admits that he found this fictional account most interesting and that he has a keener feeling for the incidents of the romance and its significance in Lincoln's life than he had previously obtained from study of the documents alone.

In no particular is the treatment oversentimental or overdrawn, and Miss Carruthers is to be complimented on the skill with which she sustains the reader's interest when the material does not permit her to lead toward the usual dramatic climax. Mr. McMurtry has competently assembled and discussed the documents.

Springfield, Ill.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

Lincoln and the South. By James G. Randall. (Louisiana State University Press: Baton Rouge, 1946. 161 pp. \$1.20.)

This book consists of four lectures presented at Louisiana State University on the Walter Lynwood Fleming lecture series in Southern history for 1945. Too frequently a series of lectures does not make an equally valuable book without major changes and revisions. This is not the case with *Lincoln and the South*. Though indeed it is a "small book on a large subject" it is none the less a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Lincoln period. The fact that the subject matter is treated in detail in the author's monumental work *Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg* does not in any way detract from the value of the published lectures. Actually they serve to emphasize some of the key points of the larger work. *Lincoln and the South* is unique in presenting so much of vital historical significance in a concise manner. Most of all, it is quite readable.

The author deals competently with Lincoln's human factors—his ties with the South and the consequent progressive emotional strain as the political crises grew in number and intensity. Personal history in relation to public policy and practice in the case of Lincoln and other

leaders is clearly analyzed. With able restatement, and with new side-lights and interpretations of well-known historical facts, the author outlines Lincoln's views on slavery, abolition, and the debates with Douglas.

One of the principal continuing features of the lectures is the effective presentation of similar psychological reactions of the American people in the Lincoln period and in our own time when faced with grave national issues. The incorrect use and deliberate misuse of political terms as expression of emotional reaction rather than the use of reason are well illustrated. Professor Randall redefines such popular expressions as "realist," "radical," "liberal," "conservative," "reactionary," "abolitionist," and others, as associated with Lincoln, in a way that is both timely and revealing.

M. L. FLANINGAM.

The Riddle of Lincoln's Religion. By R. D. Packard. (Printed by E. O. Hodge Co.: Cleveland, Ohio. 12 pp.)

Lincoln's religion has been a subject for controversy ever since he entered public life. R. D. Packard outlines this disputed subject. He reviews the position of the two early champions of Lincoln as a churchman and as a nonbeliever, Dr. J. G. Holland and W. H. Herndon. Packard discusses the reports of Lincoln's agnosticism in the New Salem days. He quotes Lincoln's own testimony on his religion and gives examples of his frequent quotations from the Bible and deference to "that Divine Being" without whose assistance he could not succeed. For a frontispiece in this pamphlet the author uses a picture of the historical parapet in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. This frieze contains four niches one each for the greatest man in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively. Statues of Shakespeare, Washington and Lincoln occupy the first three niches. The fourth is to be filled in 201 A.D.

J. M.

A Shelf of Lincoln Books: A Critical, Selective Bibliography of Lincolniana. By Paul M. Angle. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick N. J., 1946. xvii, 142 pp. \$3.00.)

Eighty-one Lincoln books are reviewed in this list—enough for bookcase rather than a shelf. The author is an authority on Abraham Lincoln, and students in the field will profit from considering his selection. Many of the appraisals have been printed previously in the Abraham Lin

coln Association's *Bulletin* and as book reviews in the *New York Times*, *New York Herald-Tribune*, and *Chicago Sun*. Now for the first time they are all assembled under one cover. Authors who plan to write on Lincoln will find in this little volume a critical summary of the editions of Lincoln's works with specific listings of errors, forgeries, and spurious letters to be avoided in them. This part of Mr. Angle's book also tells the reader which compilers have rendered accurate copies of Lincoln's writings and which have edited them slightly before printing.

Readers seeking a suitable Lincoln biography will find seventeen on Mr. Angle's shelf. They range all the way from William Dean Howells' work, written for the campaign of 1860 and corrected by Lincoln himself, to James Daugherty's *Abraham Lincoln* written in "muscular lyricism" for boys in 1943. Mr. Angle has also selected many of the more trustworthy special studies of such subjects as Lincoln's ancestry, his childhood, his environment, his professional and political career. The amateur who wants to specialize in Lincolniana will find in this volume a short cut to many titles which he can trust without sampling. Casual readers with no particular interest in Abraham Lincoln will enjoy the introduction—a justification for reading history—written with a rare combination of literary learning and majesty of language.

J. M.

Rural Hunterdon: An Agricultural History. By Hubert G. Schmidt. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, N. J., 1946. 331 pp. \$3.50.)

In recent years studies of local history have been urged as a means of understanding world history. Most of the communities in Illinois—even the smallest—recapitulate in their history the story of the state and the nation. Thus the fundamental principle of our national history may be acquired visually by students in the smallest schoolhouse in the cornlands. Yet, strangely enough, students will find few books written with this point of view. The Illinois State Historical Library has over three hundred county histories. Not one of them interprets local history as a world movement. An example of what might be done for Illinois has been accomplished in New Jersey by Hubert G. Schmidt—a native Sucker, by the way. His *Rural Hunterdon: An Agricultural History* might well be used as a model for the hundred and two counties in Illinois.

The author begins by picturing Hunterdon County, New Jersey, before white men came to it. Next he describes the first European inhabitants. Hunterdon was settled shortly after 1700 by English, Scotch, Dutch, and French. A hundred years later immigrant Irish infiltrated the area,

and in the 1880's came people from eastern Europe. Land was deeded first by royal grant from the king to great proprietors; finally through a chain of speculators, subdivisions were sold to individual freeholders. It is interesting to learn that tenants are much fewer today than they were sixty years ago. In this period also the farms have become smaller, but the number of resident owners has increased almost threefold—a trend contrary to many contemporary beliefs. The author discusses other topics—the development of buildings and farm equipment, crops, animal husbandry, transportation, labor, and the rise of industry. The concluding chapter summarizes recent agricultural developments. A resident in any rural county in Illinois will find much of interest in this well-written case study.

J. M.

NEWS AND COMMENT

THE ANNUAL MEETING IN OCTOBER

A splendid program is being planned for the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society to be held at Peoria on October 4 and 5. Outstanding speakers are being engaged. As soon as the complete program is arranged all members will be mailed announcements.

THE 1946 SPRING TOUR OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A procession of five big busses and a dozen private cars, escorted by two state police cars, moved out of Harrisburg, Illinois, on the morning of May 11, carrying more than two hundred people on the 1946 spring tour of the Illinois State Historical Society. During the day they drove 170 miles through one of the most scenic and historic regions of the state. A picnic lunch was enjoyed at Cave-in-Rock State Park at noon, and ample time was allowed at numerous other stops for camera fans to get some good shots. The Greater Egypt Association provided bus transportation for this trip without charge to members of the Illinois State Historical Society and also to members of the Illinois Council for the Social Studies, who were meeting with the Historical Society on this occasion.

Most of the people who took the trip on May 11 assembled in Harrisburg on the preceding day for a program of speeches and music. Registration was held at the Baptist Church during the morning. At noon a luncheon was served in the Masonic Temple. At the conclusion of the meal, the crowd returned to the Baptist Church for the afternoon session. With Mr. Wayne C. Townley, past president of the Illinois State Historical Society, presiding, the program was opened with addresses of welcome from Mr. Frank Parker, mayor of Harrisburg, and Mr. Scerial Thompson, representing the Greater Egypt Association. Mr. D. S. McIntosh, head of the Music Department of Southern Illinois Normal University, sang a group of folk songs, and then introduced a class of Harrisburg people who had been studying folk dances and music under his direction. Several ballads were interpreted in folk-dance steps by this group. The concluding number on the afternoon program was a "Preview of Saturday's Tour

with the Historical Background of Places to be Visited" by Mr. John W. Allen, acting director of the Museum of Natural and Social Sciences, Southern Illinois Normal University. Illustrating his talk with a large map, Mr. Allen presented a graphic picture of the history of the Ohio River region of Illinois.

Just as the afternoon session was about to begin, a delegation of more than sixty persons arrived from McLean County. Under the leadership of Mr. Wayne C. Townley, of Bloomington, these people had made the trip from Bloomington to Harrisburg in two chartered busses. They stopped en route to see the Lincoln Log Cabin State Park and the Moore home near Charleston, and to lay wreaths on the graves of Thomas and Sarah Bush Lincoln at Shiloh Cemetery. On the tour the following day, they also placed a wreath on General John McLean's grave in Westwood Cemetery near Shawneetown.

The dinner on Friday evening was held at the Harrisburg Township High School, where the huge gymnasium had been transformed into a festive banquet hall. Professor James G. Randall, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, introduced Father Henry Funke, pastor of the Catholic Church in Carbondale, who pronounced the invocation. The first speech of the evening was made by the Rev. B. D. Weeks, of Benton, who spoke on "The Cherokee Trek." In dramatic style, he reviewed the tragic history of this tribe. Miss Helen Spann, of Anna, then sang a group of songs. A gifted artist, Miss Spann had just returned from Schenectady, New York, where she appeared in a series of weekly programs over WGY. The second address of the evening was made by Mr. August L. Fowler, of Marion, who talked on "The Significance of Egypt, Its Influence upon our State and Nation." He named a substantial number of "Egyptians" who have made important contributions to our history. At the conclusion of Mr. Fowler's talk, Miss Spann again delighted the audience with two songs. A motion picture film showing southern Illinois' natural beauty was presented at the close of the evening. Mr. Scerial Thompson explained the various scenes as they appeared on the screen.

Early the next morning, May 11, additional visitors began arriving in Harrisburg to take the tour of the scenic Ohio River region of southeastern Illinois. Though rain had fallen most of the preceding day and night and the temperature had taken a sharp drop, well over two hundred people were on hand when the busses and other cars began loading at 8:30. The streets of Harrisburg were lined with spectators as the long motor cavalcade set off on the 170-mile trip. All day long, at various points enroute, interesting and historic sights were pointed out to the entire crowd by means of a loudspeaker operated from one of the escorting



Photos by Noble Stockton

SNAPSHOTS FROM SPRING TOUR, ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Upper—Ft. Massac State Park. Rose Hotel, Elizabethtown.

Lower—The Ohio River, from Hill Where Picnic Luncheon Was Served. Cave-in-Rock, on Ohio River.



police cars. Mr. Virgil Center, of Benton, was the capable guide who made these announcements. Additional information regarding the places visited was provided in a little guidebook prepared by Mr. John W. Allen with the assistance of Loraine Watters. Each member of the party was presented with one of these booklets at the beginning of the tour.

Leaving the city of Harrisburg, the flood wall—with its iron gates at all highways and railroad tracks—was observed. The first stop on the tour was for Equality, the former seat of Gallatin County and reputedly the home of the oldest Masonic lodge in Illinois. The loudspeaker blared, "This is the spring tour of the Illinois State Historical Society." Outside the village the motor cavalcade interested the sleek cattle in the fields as much as the trim farms interested members of the Society. At one place a dairy herd, attracted by the loudspeaker, lined up along the fence and stared curiously at the historians.

The next place to be visited was Shawneetown—both old and new. The latter town was built on the heights three miles from the Ohio River after the old town suffered a disastrous inundation in 1937. Impressive murals skillfully portraying the history of the town decorate the courthouse walls. These were painted by WPA artists. Although some of the homes and buildings have been moved from the old to the new town, old Shawneetown still has many ancient water-marked buildings and it retains a picturesque river-town atmosphere. As soon as the busses arrived at this historic settlement, everyone climbed up on the levee to enjoy a sweeping view of the river. A stately old bank building erected in 1838 dominates the main street of the town. A short distance down the levee stands the old John Marshall residence. In one of the rooms of this house the first bank in Illinois Territory was established.

On the road between Shawneetown and Cave-in-Rock the famous Old Slave House erected by John Crenshaw in the 1830's was seen at a distance. The condition of the roads made it impossible to visit this place. Not far beyond, Nigger Spring, where the Indians and later the pioneer whites obtained salt by process of evaporation, was visited by those who cared to take a short walk up a side road. There were numerous other places of interest near the highway but it was impossible to stop at all of them.

Cave-in-Rock State Park was one of the high points of the day's tour. Visitors were greeted on arrival by C. C. Kerr, superintendent of the Park, and directed to the shelter house on a high promontory. Here they were served quantities of sandwiches and steaming hot coffee with "seconds" for all who asked. The view of the Ohio was very impressive. A boat trip had been scheduled, but high water and wind forced its can-

cellation. After luncheon, a visit was made to the Cave, perhaps the most famous landmark on the Ohio River. This huge cavern which extends 108 feet back into the bluffs was once the rendezvous of bandits, river pirates, counterfeiters, and many other equally infamous characters.

At Elizabethtown, a peaceful little river port, the busses stopped to let the visitors visit the famous Rose Hotel. The older portion of this structure was built in 1812. The hotel has been in continuous operation since that date. The summerhouse atop the bluffs, at the edge of the broad rolling lawn, afforded one of the finest views in the entire day's travel.

Rosiclare, three miles beyond Elizabethtown, was interesting as the heart of the greatest fluor spar mine area in the world. People in the streets of this prosperous little town stopped to watch the long line of busses and cars. Patrons of the barber shop—one man with his face white with lather—looked through the window incredulously.

Golconda was the next stop on the tour. It was built on the site of a ferry established by Major James Lusk about 1800. After Lusk's death in 1803, his widow, Sarah, continued operation of the ferry, and a tablet to her memory now stands on the courthouse lawn. Golconda is said to be the home of the oldest Protestant church organization in Illinois. A Presbyterian church was established there in 1819, though the present building dates back only to 1869.

From Golconda a few members of the party returned to Harrisburg. A large majority, however, made the entire trip. Fort Massac, which was erected under the name of Fort Ascension in 1757, was the last stop on the tour. A replica of the foundations of the original stockade and fort has been erected by the State Department of Public Works and Buildings. Fort Massac is also notable because George Rogers Clark landed here to begin his overland march to Kaskaskia in 1778. At this place, once again, the Society members enjoyed a magnificent view of the Ohio River. From Fort Massac the route led through Metropolis, an attractive town located in the timber district; then on through Vienna, Stonefort, and Carrier Mills back to Harrisburg.

Registration for the two-day meeting showed a total of 244 persons in attendance, with forty-eight Illinois towns and cities represented. The Illinois State Historical Society is deeply indebted to the members of the Greater Egypt Association, the Southern Illinois Historical Society, the Saline County Historical Society, and the citizens of Harrisburg for the great amount of work they did in planning for the meeting. The generosity of the Greater Egypt Association in providing the complimentary bus trip was especially appreciated by all visitors. Mr. Will Griffith, president of the Association, and his wife, Katherine Quick Griffith, were largely re-



UPPER—SPEAKERS' TABLE AT DINNER OF ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HARRISBURG.

Upper Row, left to right: Mrs. Wayne C. Townley, Dr. B. D. Weeks, Dr. J. G. Randall, August L. Fowler, Mrs. Jewell Stevens, Mrs. Scerial Thompson. Lower Row: Scerial Thompson, Wayne C. Townley.

LOWER—PICNIC AT CAVE-IN-ROCK.

In foreground, left to right: Dr. Albert H. Lybyer, Dr. O. Fritiof Ander, Miss Hazel Phillips, John H. Hauberg, L. O. Trigg.



sponsible for looking after the many details which are required to make such gatherings a success. The members of the Illinois State Historical Society and the Illinois Council for the Social Studies will not soon forget their work.



The Illinois State Historical Society, the Illinois Council for the Social Studies, and Augustana and Monmouth colleges sponsored a historical tour of Illinois, June 3 to 15. Some fifty students and others interested in history made the two-week excursion.

The trip started in Rock Island with John H. Hauberg as director. Traveling in trucks and camping out at night, with meals served picnic style, the group circled the state in its 2100-mile pilgrimage. Among the places visited were: Bishop Hill, Galesburg, Nauvoo, New Salem, Springfield, Hannibal, Mo., Cahokia Mounds, St. Louis, Mo., Fort Chartres, Giant City State Park, Cairo, Metropolis, Shawneetown, New Harmony and Vincennes, Ind., Urbana, Metamora, Starved Rock State Park, Joliet, Chicago, Waukegan, Rockford, Oregon, Galena, and Savanna.

Many special privileges were granted the group, and guides at the various places put forth special efforts to explain historical backgrounds. All was not work, however, and the students taking the trip reported much fun. At St. Louis an interesting evening was spent attending the Civic Opera.

This tour afforded teachers and prospective teachers of history an opportunity to see for themselves the places about which they will lecture. It should make history for their students colorful and vital. The faculty included: John H. Hauberg, Hazel Phillips, Lynn Turner, O. Fritiof Ander, and Jay Monaghan.



The MacMurray College centennial celebration will be held in Jacksonville from October 6 to 10, 1946. As a permanent memorial of the celebration, the erection of a chapel is planned. The campaign for funds has been stimulated in recent months by the offer of Mrs. Anne Merner Pfeiffer of New York to donate approximately half the cost of the chapel on condition that the remaining half be secured before September 1, 1946.



An interesting exhibit of Lincolniana was held at the New York Public Library between April 14 and 30. In observance of the anniversary

of Lincoln's death and in appreciation of a gift of nine new Lincoln manuscripts received in March, the Library exhibited selections from its new accession with other memorabilia. These filled two display cases in the Fifth Avenue entrance corridor.

Two themes dominated the exhibit. One case showed Lincoln's rôle as a commander in wartime: his independence of decision regarding commissions for officers, and his leniency with men in the ranks who were guilty of violating military rules. The other case illustrated the nation's sorrow at the loss of its leader. It contained a souvenir issue of the Ford's Theatre playbill, colorful postal covers, mourning badges, and original photographs of the funeral services in Columbus, Ohio.



Bloomington, Illinois, observed the ninetieth anniversary of Lincoln's famous "lost speech" on May 29. The event was commemorated with a rally in the Masonic Temple. Major's Hall, where Lincoln spoke, is still standing, but it is used for a grocery store with apartments overhead. A plaque reminds passers-by of the building's history. Lincoln's "lost" speech inaugurated the Republican Party in Illinois. Reporters are said to have been overcome with emotion and unable to take notes on Lincoln's words. With no reliable record, tradition has acclaimed the "lost speech" Lincoln's greatest.



The names of Henry Tonti, one of LaSalle's lieutenants, and Gomo, a Potawatomi Indian chief, are to be preserved in streets laid out by the Peoria Housing Authority. Tonti and François de la Forest were proprietors of Fort St. Louis which was maintained at Peoria Lake for ten years after 1692. Gomo, who generally co-operated with the whites, was chief of a small band which had its village on Senachwine Creek near the head of Peoria Lake.



In anticipation of the new building program to be undertaken by the Aurora Historical Society, the board of directors of that organization has been increased from twelve to thirty. Of this number, fifteen will serve on an executive board, the remainder will act on committees or in an advisory capacity.

New officers of the Aurora Historical Society are: A. J. Meiers, president; Lorin Hill, first vice-president; Bess Lockhart, general secretary.

Dorothy Simpson, membership secretary; Eleanor Plain, treasurer. Charles Pierce Burton, after many years as president, is now president emeritus. A membership drive is planned by the Society. Paul Ochenschlager is chairman of the membership committee.



The May meeting of the Boone County Historical Society had for its theme "Spring in Boone County." Colored slides of birds, flowers, and animals native to northern Illinois were shown by Mrs. Edward G. Davis. Miss Lucinda Joiner, soprano, presented vocal selections.

Because of the food shortage, the Society decided not to hold its annual dinner and program in honor of seventy-five-year residents of the county.



The annual meeting of the Bureau County Historical Society was held on June 11. Reports were given by Miss Mary Uthoff, secretary, and Mrs. Ernest Roe, treasurer. Miss Hattie Whittaker, museum curator, also gave a short report of her work. New members elected to the board of directors are: J. A. Omen, Mrs. H. M. McKee, E. B. Cushing, Mrs. F. S. Fowler, and John R. Knight. Following this meeting, the board of directors met and elected the following officers for the ensuing year: Mrs. H. P. Grove, president; Miss Grace Bryant, vice-president; Miss Mary Uthoff, recording secretary; Mrs. Ernest Roe, treasurer; and Mrs. Robert Zearing, corresponding secretary. Three trustees—Robert Zearing, Roger Isaacson, and Perry Trimble—have been named to take charge of any bequests made to the Society for which no purpose is named.



Mrs. Grover Cleveland Sibley spoke on "Early Weddings" at the April meeting of the Cahokia Historical Society. Her talk, originally scheduled for the February meeting, was postponed because of illness in the Sibley family. John E. Miller discussed "Old Vincennes" and told of the adventures of the early trail blazers.

At the May meeting of the Society, Brigadier General Percy J. Carroll told of his experiences on Corregidor and of the difficulties faced in evacuating the wounded to Australia. Choral numbers were presented by the "Opti-Mrs." Chorus, directed by Mrs. Halliburton Norman. At the business meeting the following officers were elected for the coming year: Mrs. W. H. Matlack, president; Mrs. Homer Little, vice-president; Mrs.

Anita Hennessy, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Emma Asher, treasurer; Mrs. W. H. Campbell, auditor.

The annual pilgrimage to old Cahokia was held on June 25 under the auspices of the Cahokia Historical Society. The Rev. Joseph Mueller related the history of Cahokia; Colonel Iverson Brooks Summers was the guest speaker. Joe Wodicke gave a talk on barbershop harmony, and music was furnished by an old-fashioned barbershop quartet.



The Chicago Historical Society exhibited many interesting displays during the last few months. A historical pageant entitled "This is My Country" was presented by Chicago school students. Exhibits of paintings, of photography, and of early-day firearms have been prepared. On June 15 and 16 the Society demonstrated the wonders of radio by receiving through the air facsimiles of Lincoln letters and reproducing them while spectators watched. The original documents were on display in a case beside the receiver for visitors to compare with the radio reproductions as they were transcribed.



The Chicago Lawn Historical Society held open house on Sunday afternoon, May 5, at the Chicago Lawn Library. Hostesses for the occasion were members of the P.T.A. of the John F. Eberhart School, the oldest school in the community. The hobby case in the Chicago Lawn Library held an interesting exhibit of commencement programs, school books, assignment papers, etc., from the Eberhart School.



Meeting at the home of Colonel and Mrs. Harry D. Abells on June 27, the Morgan Park Historical Society (Chicago) elected the following officers: H. D. Higman, president; Edgar Palmer, first vice-president; Alice Howe, second vice-president; John Herriott, secretary; Eunice Short, treasurer; Louise Hannigan, librarian. Colonel Harry D. Abells was named honorary president.



Due to dim-out regulations, the spring meeting of the West Side Historical Society (Chicago) was cancelled. Speakers were to have been Bishop H. Duncan Weaver of the Mormon Church and Dr. Otto Eischmiller. On May 19 the Society sponsored a tour of historic spots in the city.

Officers of the Society are: Miss Lois Bergh, president; J. C. Miller, first vice-president; Charles W. Carter, second vice-president; Albert F. Keeney, third vice-president; Miss Helen S. Babcock, fourth vice-president; Miss Marie Tofft, treasurer; Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian. T. H. Golightly is chairman of the board of directors. Other board members are: Bernard Baer, Walter H. Buescher, Frank R. Campbell, William W. Cohn, Dr. Otto Eisenschiml, Miss Signe Hoff, Homer D. Jones, A. A. Marquart, Dennis J. Ryan, and Mrs. Gustav Ernsting. Mrs. Gertrude I. Jenkins, secretary-historian, would like to receive class and graduation pictures and programs from west side schools.



The Geneva Historical Society held its third annual meeting on May 16. President Leon Wheeler presided. The following officers were elected for the coming year: Dr. Charles Lyttle, president; Mrs. Margaret Alexander Allan, first vice-president; Miss Mary Wheeler, second vice-president; Miss Elva Garfield, secretary; Harry Hoyt, treasurer. New board members are Miss Jeanita Peterson and Mrs. Mary Grenier. Other board members are: Mrs. Harry White, H. M. Coultrap, Mrs. Richard Barney, and E. E. DeVol. A varied program followed, with papers by Mrs. Harry White, Mrs. Le Baron Turner, and Edwin Soderstrom. Fifth-grade pupils, with their teacher, Mrs. Rose E. Meredith, gave a review of their year's study of Geneva. An exhibit was also given of shoes made in Geneva shops about fifty years ago.



Frank Sawyer was re-elected president of the Macon County Historical Society at a meeting held on June 13 at the Decatur Public Library. Other officers are: O. T. Banton, vice-president; Miss Mabel Richmond, secretary; Miss Clara Baker, treasurer; and Mrs. W. H. Doane, program director. The principal speaker at the meeting was Otto R. Kyle, who described the recent tour of southeastern Illinois arranged by the Illinois State Historical Society.



At a meeting of the Maywood Historical Society on June 9, Mrs. Thomas C. Clark told anecdotes about Carl Sandburg, whom she knew as a neighbor when he resided in Maywood some years ago. Others who knew Mr. Sandburg also participated in the program.

The Oak Park Historical Society had as a theme for its June meeting, "Pioneer Families of Oak Park." A display of historical material collected by the Society, election of officers, and a social hour concluded the meeting.



At the May meeting of the Peoria Historical Society, Miss Emma E. Shriner told the story of an Indian princess who lived in the Peoria region a century ago. The princess married Alexander Culbertson, a fur trader. E. C. Bessler read a prize-winning essay of Rudolph Westphal on the Peoria Public Library. Westphal is a junior at Spalding Institute.

Officers elected at this meeting are: Philip Becker, Jr., president; Harry L. Spooner, vice-president; Mrs. Edna Reichelderfer, secretary; E. C. Bessler, treasurer; G. R. Barnett, Ernest E. East, and Ray Brons, directors.



The Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County held its annual meeting on Sunday afternoon, May 12. Officers elected are: W. H. Sinnock, president; Ernest M. Wood, first vice-president; Oliver B. Williams, second vice-president; J. W. Carrott, recording secretary; Ella Rogers, corresponding secretary; Harvey H. Sprick, treasurer; William Dieterich, historiographer. The board of trustees includes: L. E. Emmons, Dr. E. B. Montgomery, T. C. Poling, and George Irwin. Miss Augusta Buerkin was chairman of the nominating committee. After the business session, open house was held in the 111-year-old building.



The annual meeting of the Rock Island County Historical Society was held at the Watch Tower Inn in Black Hawk State Park on May 11. George Wickstrom read a paper on the Bishop Hill Colony. Music during the dinner hour was furnished by Roger West, accordionist.

Officers elected at this meeting are: O. L. Nordstrom, president; Henry F. Staack, first vice-president; C. R. Rosborough, second vice-president; Mrs. M. H. Lyon, Jr., secretary; Miss Alice Williams, treasurer; Miss Helen Marshall, archivist. Four directors were also elected: Mr. Carl Waldmann, Miss Georgia First, Wilson P. Hunt, and Lynn Callaway. John H. Hauberg, who was re-elected honorary president, also serves in the capacity of curator.

The Saline County Historical Society met on June 13 at "Rest-aven," the farm of Mr. and Mrs. L. O. Trigg, for a picnic supper. Afterward, Mr. Trigg showed films of many scenic and historic spots in the surrounding country.

At the July meeting, held in the Mitchell Carnegie Library in Harrisburg, Richard C. Davenport spoke on "Old Settlers and Residents of Saline County."



Recently elected officers of the Winnetka Historical Society are: Miss Marion J. Russell, president; Samuel S. Otis, vice-president; Miss Leola Stafford, secretary; Mrs. Myrtle Carpenter, treasurer; Frank A. Vindes, custodian. Mrs. A. M. Barrett was elected a director for three years, and Mrs. Charles H. Coffin, a trustee for a six-year term.



Mrs. Harold E. Leopold, a life member of the Illinois State Historical Society, died on February 20, 1946, in her apartment at the Drake Hotel in Chicago. She was a native of Naperville, Illinois, and a graduate of Vassar College. Actively interested in history and genealogy, she was president of the National Society of the Daughters of 1812 for Illinois, corresponding secretary of the Henry Dearborn Chapter of the D.A.R., president of the Chicago Colony of the National Society of New England Women, and a member of the Mayflower Descendants.



Clint Clay Tilton, beloved director of the Illinois State Historical Society, died at his home in Danville on July 13, aged seventy-six. Most of his life was spent as a newspaper man. He began at the age of fourteen with the *Catlin Rocket*. In 1903 he became manager of the *Danville Press*. Four years later he purchased the paper and consolidated it with the *Democrat*.

In 1920 Clint Clay Tilton retired from active newspaper management, and the same year joined the Illinois State Historical Society. Much of his time since that date was devoted to historical research. He wrote articles about Abraham Lincoln, and Vermilion County; he also selected the Joseph G. Cannon papers now on file in the Illinois State Historical Society Library. For many years he was a Director of the Illinois State Historical Society and served as President in 1940. One of his colleagues has rightly said that the rumble of presses will stir him no more but the memory of his genial personality will live long in the hearts of his friends.

Students of the Civil War era in Illinois should be reminded that all entries in the Alfred W. Stern contest must be submitted by December 31, 1946. Complete details regarding the contest were given in the March issue of this quarterly.



In the last issue of this *Journal*, a list of people who joined the Illinois State Historical Society during the first three months of 1946 was printed. New members who have been enrolled during April, May, and June are listed below:

LIFE MEMBERS

Warren, David M. Panhandle, Texas

ANNUAL MEMBERS

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Abrahamson, A. M. | LaGrange, Ill. | Edwards, Joe. | Bloomington, Ill. |
| Albade, Wells. | Chicago, Ill. | Ellington, Lena Boyd. | Charleston, Ill. |
| Albrecht, Mrs. Sarah. | Delavan, Ill. | Eovaldi, Benedict W. | Benton, Ill. |
| Allyn, Mrs. Paul. | Waverly, Ill. | Ericson, Mrs. Wylie. | Bishop Hill, Ill. |
| Ambrose, Mrs. James B. | Hudson, Ill. | Evans, O. R. | Albion, Ill. |
| Anderson, Billy. | Bloomington, Ill. | Evans, U. L. | Shelbyville, Ill. |
| Anderson, Mrs. Fern. | Bloomington, Ill. | Ewing, Mrs. Charles A. | Decatur, Ill. |
| Anderson, Mary Jane. | Bloomington, Ill. | | |
| Anderson, William. | Bloomington, Ill. | | |
| | | Fitzgerrell, Gertrude S. | Benton, Ill. |
| Barnes, Mrs. Ella B. | Carmi, Ill. | Fleming, Mrs. R. M. | Bloomington, Ill. |
| Barnes, Mrs. Lester. | Carbondale, Ill. | Foster, Charles L. | Monticello, Ill. |
| Bearmore, Mrs. Sarah. | Maquon, Ill. | Fowler, August L. | Marion, Ill. |
| Behr, Carl. | Bloomington, Ill. | Frase, Mrs. Frances M. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Behr, Mrs. Ethel. | Bloomington, Ill. | French, George T. | Moline, Ill. |
| Bent, Horatio. | Bloomington, Ill. | Fricke, Edith. | Sibley, Ill. |
| Biasi, Mrs. Edna S. | Normal, Ill. | Fricke, Fred. | Sibley, Ill. |
| Bird, Mrs. David B. | Chicago, Ill. | Friedland, Sidney. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Bogy, Mrs. Jettie R. | St. Louis, Mo. | Frye, Edward. | Bloomington, Ill. |
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| Brown, George H. | Lincoln, Ill. | | |
| Brucker, Gene A. | Urbana, Ill. | Gard, Mrs. Dorothy M. | Champaign, Ill. |
| | | Gentile, Edward. | Oak Park, Ill. |
| Carlson, Albert G. | Moline, Ill. | Gersbacher, Mrs. W. M. | Carbondale, Ill. |
| Carveth, C. E. | Litchfield, Ill. | Gray, Mrs. Avis. | Gibson City, Ill. |
| Chase, H. B. & Evelyn. | Kewanee, Ill. | Grennan, Mary L. | Chicago, Ill. |
| Cope, Mr. & Mrs. A. J. | Springfield, Ill. | | |
| Coultas, W. J. | Moline, Ill. | Hall, Carrol C. & Dorothy S. | Springfield, Ill. |
| Covington, Mrs. William S. | Lake Forest, Ill. | Hall, Ernest M. | Huntingdon, Ill. |
| | | Hanley, Henry L. | Chicago, Ill. |
| DeHass, Minnie. | Lincoln, Ill. | Hanley, Mrs. Sarah Bond. | Springfield, Ill. |
| DeLinck, Martin L. | Salem, Ill. | Hardy, James F. | Albion, Ill. |
| DeWitt, Maurice. | Mt. Vernon, Ill. | Hassenstein, Herbert G. | Bloomington, Ill. |
| Donelson, Mrs. Kathline. | Bloomington, Ill. | Hayes, Jenilee. | Bloomington, Ill. |
| Dougherty, Mary E. | Cairo, Ill. | Hayes, Mrs. W. B. | Champaign, Ill. |
| Drake, Mrs. William McC. | Elkhart, Ill. | Hereford, Mrs. John. | St. Louis, Mo. |
| Dunn, Mrs. Cozette. | Peoria, Ill. | Hicken, Victor. | Carbondale, Ill. |
| Dunn, Mrs. Inez. | Bloomington, Ill. | Hickey, James T. | Elkhart, Ill. |
| Dworsky, Leonard. | Chicago, Ill. | Hinckley, Mrs. Freeman. | Chicago, Ill. |
| | | Hodgson, Elsie G. | Ottawa, Ill. |

- Hoffman, Mrs. Margaret.....Bloomington, Ill.
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 Hughes, Mrs. Edna.....Normal, Ill.
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 Johnson, Russell E. Q.Evanston, Ill.
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 Joy, W. A.Greenville, Ill.
 Karraker, James W.Winnetka, Ill.
 Kendall, Edgar L.Bluffs, Ill.
 Keohane, Robert E.Chicago, Ill.
 Kinison, J. P.Mt. Vernon, Ill.
 Kitchell, D. C.Bloomington, Ill.
 Kohlsaat, Mrs. E. W.St. Paul, Minn.
 Koogle, Mrs. Will.Bloomington, Ill.
 Kurth, Warren.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Ladenson, Alex.....Chicago, Ill.
 Lange, Louise.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Lawrence, Mrs. Clifford.....Hudson, Ill.
 Lockett, Anne.....Chicago, Ill.
 Lockhart, Orville.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Long, John P.Chicago, Ill.
 Lovett, H. O.Dixon, Ill.
 Lueschen, John.....Bloomington, Ill.
 McBride, Mrs. W. P.Lake Forest, Ill.
 McConathy, Mrs. A. R.White Hall, Ill.
 McIlwain, Elmer.....Bethany, Ill.
 McWilliams, Charles D.Dwight, Ill.
 Macy, Mrs. Margaret.....Heyworth, Ill.
 Macy, Raymond.....Heyworth, Ill.
 Macy, Robert J.Heyworth, Ill.
 Magee, Simon P.Chicago, Ill.
 Malone, Albert.....Carrier Mills, Ill.
 Martin, Mr. & Mrs. Charles R.Alton, Ill.
 Mayer, Mrs. Jeannette.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Mayne, Robert.....El Paso, Ill.
 Mayne, Mrs. Robert.....El Paso, Ill.
 Meiners, Verne.....Chicago, Ill.
 Moore, John W.Bloomington, Ill.
 Morath, Mrs. Mabel.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Morath, Ralph.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Morris, Mrs. Lola.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Moss, Robert F.Staunton, Ill.
 Mueller, Milton M.Highland, Ill.
 Murphy, Loren E.Springfield, Ill.
 Muxfeld, Mrs. Edith.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Muxfeld, Louise.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Myers, Mrs. Jacob W.Harrisburg, Ill.
 Nelson, Clarence E.Galva, Ill.
 Norman, Margaret A.Chicago Heights, Ill.
 Norman, Nelson F.Champaign, Ill.
 Normoyle, John J.Moline, Ill.
 Northcott, H. Clifford.....Champaign, Ill.
 Nott, Mrs. Harry.....Chicago, Ill.
 O'Neill, Mrs. Gertrude B.Boulder, Colo.
 Palmer, Cyrus E.Urbana, Ill.
 Palmer, Mrs. George T.Springfield, Ill.
 Pledger, Mrs. China.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Prosser, Mr. & Mrs. Robert S.
Highland Park, Ill.
 Reeser, Mrs. Carl.....Weldon, Ill.
 Richardson, Mrs. Mary S.Grayville, Ill.
 Ricketts, Mrs. Ruth.....Lexington, Ill.
 Riese, Mrs. Maude.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Roberts, William P.Springfield, Ill.
 Román, Ulysses Grant.....Chicago, Ill.
 Romeo, Mrs. Maud C.Carterville, Ill.
 Ryerson, Mrs. Edward L.Chicago, Ill.
 Salmon, F. G.Bloomington, Ill.
 Samuells, Dudley.....Easton, Ill.
 Sanders, Walter R.Litchfield, Ill.
 Scheying, A. L.Chicago, Ill.
 Schlosser, Mrs. Bertha.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Schmidt, Mrs. E. W.Edwardsville, Ill.
 Schmidt, William P.Rockford, Ill.
 Schneible, Mrs. Frances P.Evanston, Ill.
 Searls, Mrs. Virginia W.Urbana, Ill.
 Seiler, Mrs. S. S.Mt. Carmel, Ill.
 Sheets, Mrs. Raymond W.Rockford, Ill.
 Sheldon, A. L.Bloomington, Ill.
 Shontz, Vernon L.Springfield, Ill.
 Shotwell, Mrs. Laura.....Normal, Ill.
 Smith, George Winston.....Urbana, Ill.
 Smith, Glenn F.Chicago, Ill.
 Summers, Alexander.....Mattont, Ill.
 Swain, Mrs. Paul.....Benton, Ill.
 Taylor, Mrs. Etta.....Gibson City, Ill.
 Taylor, Sam M.Taylorville, Ill.
 Thompson, David E.Rockford, Ill.
 Townley, Richard.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Twomey, Margie.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Villeré, S. L.New Orleans, La.
 Vincent, H. G.Bloomington, Ill.
 Vorndran, Amelia.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Wales, E. Max.....LaSalle, Ill.
 Waller, Elbert.....Murphysboro, Ill.
 Waters, Mrs. H. C.Bloomington, Ill.
 Webb, Mrs. Nellie.....Normal, Ill.
 Webster, Mrs. Sarah F.Chicago, Ill.
 Werner, Mildred C.Park Ridge, Ill.
 Wilkings, W. J.Moline, Ill.
 Willoughby, Harold R.Chicago, Ill.
 Wilson, Mrs. Jeddie.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Wright, W. W.McLean, Ill.
 Yates, William.....Normal, Ill.
 Young, Russell.....Bloomington, Ill.

The Society is indebted to its membership committee, John Valentine of Decatur, Barbara Burr Hubbs of Chicago, and O. Fritiof Ander of Rock Island for this excellent showing. The names of other members of the Society who have obtained new members during the last three months are listed below:

Bogy, Mrs. Jettie R.....	St. Louis, Mo.	Randall, J. G.....	Urbana, Ill.
Hayward, Oscar C.....	Winnetka, Ill.	Shaw, Joseph L.....	Geneseo, Ill.
Kircher, Theodore E.....	Belleville, Ill.	Smith, William W.....	Springfield, Ill.
Newman, Ralph G.....	Chicago, Ill.	Townley, Wayne C.....	Bloomington, Ill.
Pace, Mrs. O. B.....	Farmer City, Ill.	Young, James H.....	Atlanta, Ga.

CONTRIBUTORS

Rexford Newcomb is dean of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at the University of Illinois. His article on the "Beginnings of Architecture in Illinois" is the written version of his address at the October, 1945, meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society. . . . Frederick C. Hicks, librarian of the Yale Law School Library, is the author of many books and articles. "Lincoln, Wright, and Holmes at Fort Stevens" is the result of his long-standing interest in the fort and Lincoln's visits there. . . . Arthur J. May is professor of history at the University of Rochester. He was formerly on the faculties of Brown University and the University of Pennsylvania. This study is part of a history of the Hapsburg monarchy, 1867-1918, on which he is working. . . . Harold A. Sinclair is well known to our readers as the author of: *Journey Home*, *American Years*, *The Years of Growth*, *Westward the Tide*, *Years of Illusion*, and other books and articles. He lives in Bloomington, Illinois.

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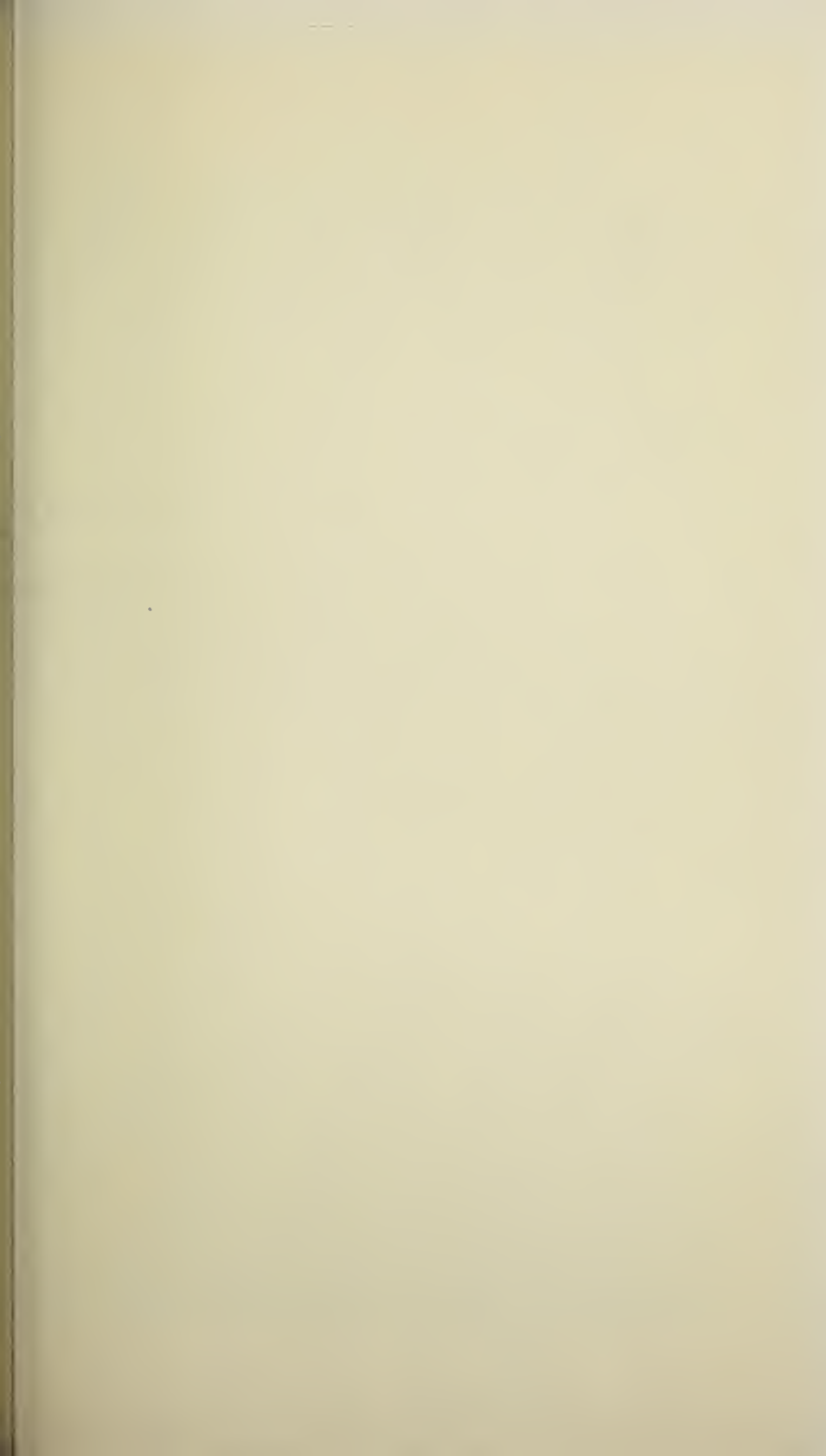
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Courtesy of the Evanston Review

GROSSE POINTE LIGHTHOUSE, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS.

THE WRECK OF THE *LADY ELGIN**

BY DWIGHT F. CLARK

[IN 1860, the southwest shore line of Lake Michigan, served by the 300-foot, elegant, 1000-ton side-wheeler steamer, *Lady Elgin*, already boasted of its present-day important ports. Milwaukee then had a population of 45,246, Racine 7,822, Kenosha, 3,990, Waukegan 3,433, Lake Forest 58, Highland Park 80, Glencoe 50, Winnetka 130, Wilmette 40, Evanston 31, and Chicago 109,260.¹

The *Lady Elgin*, named for the wife of Lord Elgin, Governor of Canada from 1847 to 1854, was built in Buffalo in 1851 by Bidwell and Banta at a cost of \$96,000. It served as mail and passenger transport on Lake Erie until the completed Grand Trunk Railway presented a more satisfactory government mail contract. Later it was purchased by Gurdon Hubbard, of Chicago, for service between Chicago and Bayfield, Wisconsin.

Our story opens in the presidential election year of 1860. The effect of the Lincoln-Douglas debates had spread over the land. The slavery question was dividing the North from the South. Rumbblings of civil war were beginning to be heard. The enforcement of the unpopular Fugitive Slave Law had set the Wisconsin state courts in defiance of the federal authori-

* The author wishes to express his thanks for information received from the Milwaukee Public Library, the Milwaukee County Historical Society, the Racine County Historian, the Kenosha County Historical Society, and the Chicago Historical Society; and also for the help of librarians and other citizens of Waukegan, Lake Forest, Highland Park, Glencoe, Winnetka, and Wilmette.

¹ The population figures for Chicago and the larger towns along the North Shore are taken from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population of the United States in 1860* . . . (Washington, D.C., 1864). For Chicago, however, the *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, gives a revised figure of 112,172 for the city's population in 1860. For the smaller towns, the figures used are the best available estimates of local historical societies and librarians.

ties. Milwaukee's Irish, Democratic, "Bloody Third" ward had to reckon with the armed Union Guards, a home-guard organization. When the Guards refused to defend the state against the threats of the federal courts, they were disarmed by Wisconsin's Republican governor, Alexander W. Randall.

One hundred members of the Guards, now politically more bitter, chartered the *Lady Elgin* for a round trip to Chicago for themselves and their wives, children, and friends. They sailed from Milwaukee late in the evening of September 6, 1860, to attend the Democratic Douglas rally on September 7. But for this political demonstration and the scheduled journey, the wreck of the *Lady Elgin* might never have taken place.

All the front-page news of local and national unrest was soon to be temporarily overshadowed by the enormity of the wreck of this ship during her return trip to Milwaukee. The disaster not only had no parallel in the maritime records of the Great Lakes, but, up to that period, was also one of the worst known anywhere. Few today realize the great hazards to which steamships and sailing vessels were exposed in those lake-disaster days. Even later, in the twenty-year period from 1878 to 1897 inclusive, there were well over six thousand vessels wrecked on the Great Lakes.

The *Lady Elgin* had left her Chicago River dock before midnight on September 7, 1860, on the return trip to Milwaukee. She had a large cargo of freight and cattle in her hold, and a passenger list of nearly four hundred—more than her safe capacity. This included those who had chartered the vessel and also many other northbound travelers. Captain Jack Wilson noticed the threatening weather and considered delaying his departure for a while. At last he set off. The ship took a shore-line course in sight of the villages or settlements of Lake View, Edgewater, Rogers Park, South Evanston, Evanston, and Wilmette. When off Winnetka, she turned northward out into the lake. The rain and rough seas were now whipped by a violent gale.

A merrymaking crowd was celebrating, both on deck and below, with music and dancing. Captain Wilson, proud of his command, was in the wheelhouse. The well-lighted ship could be seen from a considerable distance and was as seaworthy as any vessel on the inland waters.

The 350-ton schooner *Augusta* of Oswego was sailing south by east with the northeaster in her sails. The captain was asleep and the first mate at the helm. Heavily laden with lumber, she was bound for Chicago. At about 2:00 A.M. and with no warning, the prow of the *Augusta* crashed into the *Lady Elgin* amidships, tearing a great hole in her side at the water line just aft of the wheelhouse. Captain D. M. Malott, of the *Augusta*, was reported to have megaphoned, "Shall I stand by? Will you need help?" Hearing no answer, he drew apart and continued to Chicago with little harm to his ship and without standing by to learn the extent of the damage suffered by the *Lady Elgin*. The collision occurred probably opposite Waukegan.

Pandemonium prevailed on the stricken ship and Captain Wilson shouted encouragement to the frenzied passengers. He ordered the bawling and stampeding cattle overboard, but most of them refused. Steward Fred Rice and twenty-one members of the crew, in three lifeboats, tried in vain to stuff the hole in the hull with mattresses and sailcloth. Captain Wilson attempted to list his ship in such a way as to bring the hole above the waterline. This failed and he ordered others of the crew with axes to chop doors and rails loose for wreckage to which survivors might cling.

Within fifteen or twenty minutes after the collision the engine of the *Lady Elgin* fell through the ship and the hull followed it to the bottom. There was no time to find life belts. The 393 persons aboard were for the most part either drawn down with the ship or saved for a time by clinging to pieces of wreckage. Some tried to ride the cattle or to grasp their ails. By a stroke of luck the hurricane deck of the *Lady Elgin*

floated free before the rest of the ship sank, and served as a raft for about forty persons. According to one survivor, lightning flashes revealed the raft with its load, still floating an hour after the wreck, and also many others struggling alone in the storm and rain, clinging desperately to bits of wreckage—all several miles from shore but praying for strength to reach land. Those strong enough to support themselves till daylight could see the shore where villagers were waiting to help them.

Our story must leave the tragedies of the next few hours largely to the imagination of the reader. About 6:30 A.M. the three lifeboats, carrying as many people as possible, reached the Winnetka shore. They brought the news of the wreck to the village, which was then located some distance back from the beach. On the forty-foot overhanging bluffs the villagers built great fires; they supplied lines of rope, blankets, and hot coffee. It is a matter of record that men and women of the following families from the little village of Winnetka were among those who opened their homes to the exhausted survivors: Gage, Peck, Carter, Davis, Wilson, Pratt, Conrad, Herbert, Sherlock, Spencer, Millard, Dwyer, Kinnes, Garland, McLain, Deustert, Sloat, and Bissel.

Henry W. Kidder, in silk hat and Prince Albert coat, rode his famous pony to the Evanston campus and notified a group of Northwestern University and Garrett Biblical Institute students, who set out for Winnetka. Trains on the newly built Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad brought people from Chicago and intermediate points, and from as far north as Milwaukee. They made their way to shore across the intervening Winnetka fields and timberland that was then only sparsely settled with occasional farmhouses.

Crowds on the bluffs and beaches soon began to notice pieces of wreckage wash up near the site of the present Winnetka water tower. Some of this material, no doubt, had sustained for a time a few people who had not been able to hold on very long. By ten o'clock, the scene from the bluffs was a



Courtesy of the Evanston Historical Society

THE Lady Elgin.

From a photograph taken a day or two before the wreck while docked in the Chicago River near LaSalle Street.



panorama of what remained of the brave souls that were stout enough to endure the fury of the night. And now, in plain view of the watchers, came the last portion of the hurricane deck raft, with Captain Wilson and eight of his dwindled flock whom the storm had thus far spared. During the night the raft had broken into five parts. Now, before the eyes of everyone, this storm-battered remnant was finally dashed to pieces on an offshore sandbar and all on board were lost after eight hours of exposure and within a stone's throw of shore. Possibly Captain Wilson might have been saved, but he dived for a woman in the water and both were drowned. True to the tradition of the sea, he had fought an almost successful fight for his charges and went down with the last piece left of his ship and with the everlasting glory of a true hero.

The view from the bluffs and beaches now revealed that the lake held many individuals, still alive, who were floating almost within reach of rescuers. Branches of trees were held out as far as possible by men on the beach, who saved a few of those strong enough to grasp them. Men were lowered on ropes from the bluffs to the water in the hope of grasping a survivor from the breakers. Others nearly reached shore only to be carried back to their deaths by the undertow. The three lifeboats which earlier had brought news of the wreck to the shore could not be launched for rescue work, owing to the hazard of the angry breakers. Moreover, the beaches were too narrow and the undertow was too powerful for even experienced lifesavers to work without great personal risk.

The hero of the day was Edward W. Spencer, Northwestern University student, who had become a powerful swimmer on the Mississippi River. With Dr. Henry Bannister and others holding the end of a line which was tied around his waist, Spencer entered the lake and struggled with the undertow sixteen times to save seventeen persons. His last venture was the double rescue—with rousing cheers from those on shore—of Mr. and Mrs. John Eviston, who had drifted near

shore clinging to the *Lady Elgin's* pilothouse. Twice the Evistons were seen washed away from the pilothouse and twice Mr. Eviston brought his wife back. A bronze tablet describing Spencer's great heroism was given by the class of 1898 and is now placed in the lobby of the Northwestern University gymnasium.

The crowds on the shore were for the most part unable to assist except in reviving those brought through the undertow to land. Little is recorded of lesser and unsung heroes on shore. One of these was James O. Cramb, a Garrett Biblical Institute student, who was prevented by the shortness of the line about his waist from reaching a woman still afloat. He commanded that the line should be released, dived farther out, and brought the woman to safety. A *Chicago Press and Tribune* reporter saw both Spencer and Cramb do their work and wrote of the latter, "Theological teachings at the Garrett Biblical Institute must include a liberal amount of Muscular Christianity."

There were many strange sights that morning. J. B. Rodie, of the Milwaukee Union Guards band, rode all the way to the beach on his drum. A woman astride a small table passed through the undertow to safety. Several persons on a section of flooring weathered the high seas in comparative comfort. After they were safely landed it was discovered that their raft had been buoyed all the way by the bloated carcasses of several cattle underneath.

The rescue work continued until 2:00 P.M. that day when the Chicago tug *McQueen* brought in the the body of a dead child. For days, however, bodies and baggage floated ashore as far south as Rogers Park. The *McQueen* finally recovered Captain Wilson's body near Evanston. The body of Captain Barry of the Milwaukee Union Guards was found on the Indiana shore in November. There was much evidence of robbery by vandals. A mailbag was rifled and washed ashore near Racine. Passing vessels saw many bodies floating in the lake



Courtesy of the Evanston Historical Society

SCHOONER *Augusta* DOCKED IN THE CHICAGO RIVER.

Photograph taken the day after the collision showing her broken prow.



but the rough weather prevented recovery of them. A few days later a portion of the hull of the *Lady Elgin* came to the surface off Daggett's Point, near Winnetka. The anchors that fell overboard after the collision still held this part of the wreck.

About one-fourth of the 393 persons on board were saved. An estimated 100 out of 150 floating in on wreckage died at the door of safety. Among those lost were Colonel Francis A. Lumsden, co-owner of the *New Orleans Picayune*, Mrs. Lumsden, and their son and daughter. Herbert Ingram, proprietor of the *Illustrated London News* and a member of Parliament, was traveling in this country with his son Herbert, a lad of sixteen. Both were lost on the *Lady Elgin*. The body of the elder Ingram was recovered and sent back to England. A statue near St. Botolph's Church at Boston, Lincolnshire, England, now marks his final resting place.

A great mass funeral was held at the Catholic Cathedral in Milwaukee on September 13, when all business of the city was suspended and the town was draped in mourning. A vast throng attended the funeral service for Captain Wilson at the Wigwam in Chicago on September 16, conducted by the Rev. Dr. Robert H. Clarkson of St. James' Episcopal Church and the Rev. Mr. James Pratt of Trinity Church. With bands and guards the funeral procession marched from Randolph and Market streets to the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway station, where Captain Wilson's body was placed on a train for transportation to his home in Coldwater, Michigan. There, on the following day, a memorial service was held, the details of which were carried in subsequent issues of the newspapers of Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, and Milwaukee.

The Chicago and Milwaukee Railroad gave free transportation from Milwaukee to Chicago for those searching for the bodies of lost relatives. One poor woman, not knowing of this offer, walked the entire distance from Milwaukee to Chicago

and back as far as Evanston, carrying her baby. From Evanston she was returned home by train.

Immediately after the wreck the papers in Milwaukee where most of the victims lived, as well as the press in Chicago and elsewhere, condemned the *Augusta's* captain. Newspapers in Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo deplored the poor navigation that caused the wreck and began raising funds for the several hundred widows and orphans, most of them living in Milwaukee's third ward. Many other towns on the Great Lakes sent money. The *New York World*, printing an account of a recent ferry collision in the East River, as well as that of the *Lady Elgin* disaster, warned the public that as many as a hundred schooners had entered the New York harbor without lights to protect themselves or other craft. A great many people, claiming to have had presentiments of a lake disaster just prior to the wreck, communicated their premonitions to the newspapers. A *New York Journal of Commerce* reporter wrote a pleasant description of a meeting with Captain Wilson during the previous summer at the Straits of Mackinac. A testimonial to the heroism and character of Captain Wilson, published in the *Buffalo Republic*, resulted in a substantial fund for the *Lady Elgin* widows in Milwaukee.

Captain Malott of the *Augusta* claimed to be unaware of the damage he had inflicted on the *Lady Elgin*. He supposed he had merely knocked off some of her gingerbread trimmings. With his headgear, stanchions, and jib gone, he had lowered his other sails and settled in the trough until he could head in to the wind. He declared he lost sight of the steamer and landed in Chicago about 10:30 A.M. He told a bridge tender "I guess I hit a steamer up near Waukegan." Then he hurried to the mayor's office to enter a protest for his schooner's injuries. The newspapers told him the details of the disaster he had caused. Then he was arrested.

At the hearing, blame was placed not so much on the captain as on the fact that maritime regulations did not require sufficient lights on schooners. The first mate testified that the

LOST



ON THE

LADY ELGIN

SONG AND CHORUS,

*Commemorating the Terrible Lake Disaster of Friday Night,
September 7th, 1860.*

WORDS AND MUSIC BY

HENRY C. WORK,

Author of "BRAVE BOYS ARE THEY."



Published by J. L. PETERS, New York.

Cincinnati:

Chicago:

St. Louis:

J. J. DOBMEYER & Co.

DE MOTTE Bros.

J. J. DOBMEYER & Co.

Entered according to Act of Congress, A. D. 1861, by H. M. Higgins, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Northern District of Illinois

Courtesy of the Evanston Historical Society.

COVER OF FAMOUS SONG BY COMPOSER OF
"MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA."

Augusta had no lights, that "she steered pretty wild under her heavy load and would not answer her helm readily," and that the lights on the *Lady Elgin* were plainly visible. Perhaps Captain Wilson disdained to admit at the moment a fatal injury from a much smaller boat, for his immediate reply to Malott's megaphoned inquiry was said to have been, "No, proceed on your course—if you can," in spite of the *Augusta's* claim that no answer was made.

However, after the collision, the *Lady Elgin's* whistle was tied down and her bell rang continuously. These distress signals should have been heard by the *Augusta*, which was drifting toward shore until she could get under full sail again. The *Augusta* had an unsinkable cargo which, if thrown overboard might have made room for scores of survivors to come aboard and at the same time would have provided something for others to cling to in the water.

One of the *Lady Elgin's* survivors said that he heard a call from the *Augusta* to throw it a line. Another, John Jervi of Milwaukee, declared he saw a light on the *Augusta* before she struck. He heard Captain Wilson, who at first thought the *Augusta* chiefly injured, call "Do your hands want to come aboard?" and the reply, "We are not injured and will stay here." Another survivor, Thomas Cummings, a Milwaukee policeman, estimated that at the time of the collision they were about ten miles offshore, and that the *Augusta* made a rebound lunge into the steamer. He said that he came to shore in one of the lifeboats with thirteen others and that the weather would not have prevented the schooner from standing by to help. Captain Malott testified that he lived in Canada, had been sailing for ten years, one-fourth of the time in salt water, that the big anchor ordered over jammed, that he was traveling ten knots, heard no bell or whistle, and that several of his crew condemned the *Lady Elgin* for leaving the *Augusta* injured.

The verdict of Coroner William James's jury in Chicago found that the *Lady Elgin* had satisfied official inspection that

previous June for a capacity of 200 people in cabins and 100 on deck; it censured the *Lady Elgin's* overload, the *Augusta's* second mate for delay in calling her captain, and the *Augusta's* captain for not standing by.

Had Captain Wilson survived, his account of the disaster and his appearance at the coroners' inquests both in Chicago and in Milwaukee and at other hearings might have cleared up some of the intense public feeling against Captain Malott. It might have been shown that, after all, the *Augusta* had fulfilled her obligations under the then inadequate maritime regulations for navigation. However, after allowing for reasonable error in the survivors' statements and their later interviews—which were necessarily prejudiced by the rapidly mounting death toll and reports of hardships—much of the nation-wide condemnation of the *Augusta* and her captain seems justified. This was, of course, intensified when Captain Malott's actions were contrasted with the outstanding coolness, fortitude, and intelligent concern for passengers and disregard of personal safety which stamped Captain Wilson as the ideal master of his vessel during a terrific crisis and carried him down in history as one of the bravest of maritime heroes.

The owner of the *Augusta*, Captain G. W. Bissell of Detroit, had the schooner's name changed to the *Colonel Cook*. Captain Malott was reported drowned a few years later when his ship, the *Major*, foundered.

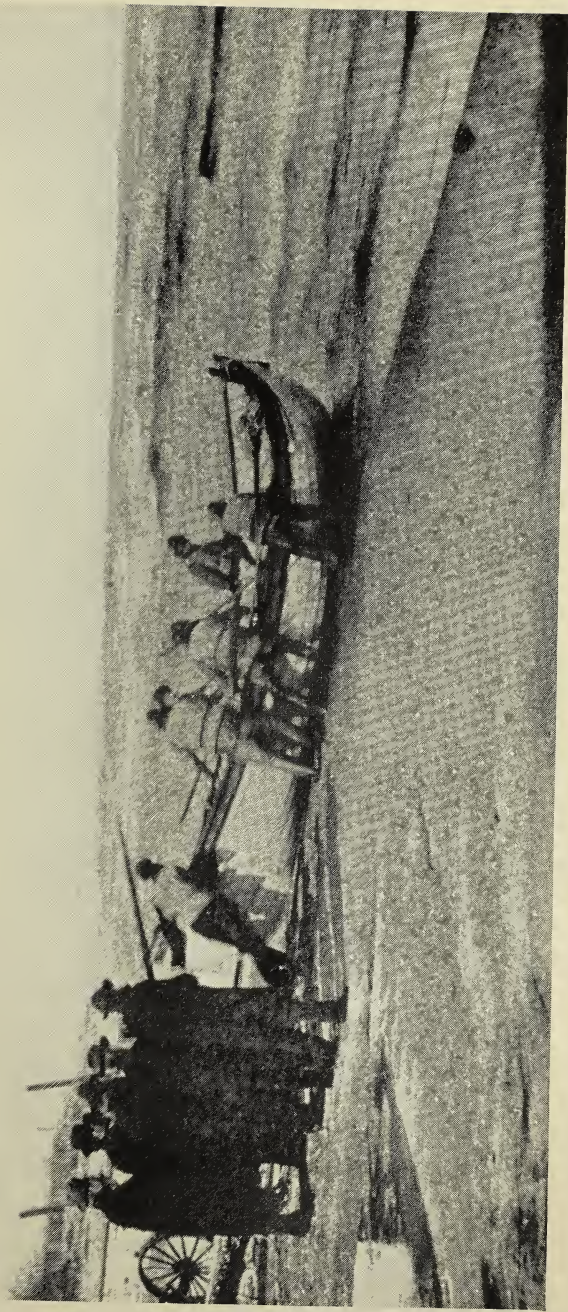
It was the custom in Civil War days to memorialize both disaster and victory with song and poetry. Nine poems and songs appear in Scanlan's *The Lady Elgin Disaster*. Henry C. Work, later famous as the composer of "Marching through Georgia," "Grandfather's Clock," and many others, expressed the sorrow of the nation in his song, "Lost on the *Lady Elgin*." During the 1860's and 1870's, "Lost on the *Lady Elgin*" was sung by "little girls in pantalettes, big girls in bustles, fancy men in plaid vests, and quartettes in starched discomfort," and often was heard in the schools of the towns and villages

along Lake Michigan's shore line between Chicago and Milwaukee. For many years after the disaster the Cathedral in Milwaukee held annual memorial services.

Out of such disasters some benefit to posterity is said to come. This major wreck, with several other lesser ones in the next few years, had much to do with arousing Congress to install the Grosse Pointe Lighthouse at Evanston in 1873. It also led to the establishment of the famous Northwestern University Coast Guard Crews under Captain Lawrence O. Lawson and to improved maritime regulations.

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Courtesy of Dr. Dwight F. Clark

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY STUDENT LIFE SAVING CREW OF THE EARLY 1890'S.



HOW TO GIVE AWAY AN OPERA HOUSE*

BY HARRY HANSEN

THE Opera House that W. W. Boyington designed for Uranus H. Crosby, the distiller, was an elaborate edifice, but it did not last more than six years. Yet in two years it was known all over the country. It was the subject of a most scandalous lottery, when, on January 22, 1867, it was offered to the public at \$5 a chance. If speculation was in Chicago's blood, this brought it to fever heat.

Uranus H. Crosby built the Opera House on the north side of Washington Street, about midway between State and Dearborn, in 1865. Crosby had made a fortune as a distiller and was said to have put about \$600,000 into the structure. It betrayed, in its classic lines, the aspiration to culture and artistic eminence of the owner and his associates, who turned from trade to cultivate art. It had a formal Italian façade, surmounted by a mansard roof; the main entrance had a high arched opening. It seated twenty-five hundred; its stage was spacious, its proscenium high; there was a huge balcony, and when the hundreds of gas lamps were lighted it provided a fitting setting for the display of gowns of Chicago's fashionable set. The first floor front was occupied by such music enterprises as W. W. Kimball, Bauer & Company, and Root & Tandy. It had an art gallery packed chiefly with examples of the storytelling art of the day. It was one of the show places of pre-fire Chicago, the house where Adelaide Ristori, still

* Mr. Hansen noted the article on "The Early Theatre in Chicago" by Harold E. Briggs and Ernestine B. Briggs, which was published in our June, 1946, issue. He called our attention to his account of the Crosby Opera House which appeared in his book, *The Chicago*, copyright, 1942. It is reprinted here by permission of the author and Rinehart & Co., Inc., publishers.

tingling from being snowbound in Indiana, spoke the classic lines of Medea and trod the boards as the tragic Mary Stuart.

In January, 1867, Uranus H. Crosby made the classic gesture of theater managers and announced that he was broke. He could finance the house no longer. He proposed to pull out of his hole and bestow a great favor on the community by giving everybody a chance to own the Opera House—a gigantic lottery of 210,000 tickets, at \$5 a ticket. To sweeten the proposal he also offered 305 works of art, to be drawn separately, but included in the original price. Tickets would be sold direct or by agents; one-half would be disposed of in New York. The drawings would take place in Chicago; a committee of leading citizens, headed by the president of the Board of Trade and including a former governor, would preside.

The news sped across the country and fed the speculative fever anew. Once more, as in the days when town lots were in demand, Chicago became synonymous with opportunity. A magnificent opera house for \$5—what a gamble! Today's hazards of operation are so great that the man who inherits an opera house is likely to feel crushed, asking, in a whisper, "What will it cost me in taxes and upkeep?" But nowhere, in all the detailed chronicles of this event, is there a hint that any one who held a \$5 ticket in 1867, raised this question.

The 305 works of art included in the lottery were not to be despised, though some of them seem suspiciously like those sadly faded paintings now visible in auction rooms. There were included, it is true, the Volk bust of Lincoln, a landscape or two by George Inness, paintings by Vedder and Chavannes, and a portrait of Lincoln by Cogswell. But most of the works bore such titles as "Washington Irving and His Friends," "Scene in the Tyrol," "Selecting the Bridal Dress," "The Sultan's Daughter," "Trailing Arbutus," and the two much-admired companion pieces, "Raspberries" and "Strawberries."

Many people ventured more than one purchase and pool

were formed to buy from \$100 to \$1,500 worth of tickets. The Board of Trade took to the gambling naturally; the Opera Ring identified a group of fashionable people. The Chamber of Commerce made a pool. Others registered under names that read like a roster of winners of the Irish Sweepstakes. Here were entered Dead Broke, Bloody Tub, Kiss Me Quick, General Grant, General Sheridan, Titter No. 1, Pork Packers, Ladies Friend, Bohemian Club, Bottom Dollar. When orders came the management mailed out tubes containing the tickets, which had handsome engravings of the Opera House. But the *Tribune* saw nothing elevating in the scramble and warned the gamblers that there would be over two hundred thousand disappointed losers. It spoke of the implied tragedy of the Opera House—"its sublime conception, the disastrous failure of its proprietor." It warned that this was a sorry business in which men squandered their money, set a bad example to children and poorer neighbors, violated the statute against lotteries and in general demonstrated moral guilt. In other words, the *Tribune* was against it.

The momentous day of the drawing arrived. Early in the morning gaping crowds formed outside the Opera House. At 8:30 o'clock the committee of wealthy bankers and managers headed by the president of the Union National Bank, solemnly sat down to count 210,000 tickets, printed by a bank engraving company and numbered like banknotes. Three times they counted the tickets to avoid duplication; then, each man carrying a box of tickets under his arm, they filed gravely onto the stage. Here an elaborate lunch was served them behind the closed curtains, while the audience was taking its seats in tense apprehension on the other side.

With the house filled with a crowd of candy and peanut eaters, and seats in the orchestra cleared for tables for newspapermen, the scene opened before noon, the gas was turned on, and the two wooden wheels from which tickets were to be drawn were shown. The chairman announced that over 25,000

tickets remained unsold and hence belonged to Crosby. The drawing proceeded and the crowd attended in high spirits. When the painting of "Strawberries" was awarded, the audience called for cream; when "Chickens" was drawn, it yelled "fowl play." Finally ticket No. 58,600 drew Prize No. 1—the Opera House. Silence met the announcement; nobody knew who held the winning number.

Said the chairman, "The committee thinks that Mr. Crosby has not drawn the house and they trust that it has gone to some poor man who will make good use of it."

The drawing was no sooner completed when those who had failed to win the house began to ridicule the proceeding with laughter and gay quips. The anonymity of the successful winner gave rise to all sorts of horseplay. Some spread the news that the Opera House had been won by a convict with a year to serve. Others congratulated a well-known hack driver nicknamed "Shanghai." A crowd of two hundred persuaded the bartender for "Bock" Meyer, a German saloonkeeper, to stand treat and drank seven kegs of beer before the owner arrived and threw them out.

Then came word that the lucky ticket was held by Abraham Hagerman Lee of Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, down in the rich farming lands of the American Bottom. For days no one knew anything about him. "The eyes of all America are fixed upon him," said the *Tribune*, "on fortune's cap he is almost the very button." How to reach him? There was no telegraph to his town, but there was the old road from East St. Louis down into Cahokia and past old Fort Chartres to the little town that was a relic of New France. Who was Lee? Was there really such a man, or was he a blind for Crosby himself? The "shipwrecked" losers became sarcastic, witty, bitter at his expense. It was ascertained that there were scarcely fifteen inhabitants in Randolph County; what backwoods farmer had won the Opera House? Speed became necessary. Crosby notified a lawyer in St. Louis, who commissioned a man in Belleville,

Illinois, the nearest town with a telegraph office, to ride to Lee with the news. "The magnificent edifice is rushing to him on horseback," said a newspaper.

The first to reach Lee with the news of his great luck were two horsemen from St. Louis, who, having read the report in their paper, rode out to see him. They found him in his cottage reading to his sick wife. Whether they hoped to bargain with him or not, nothing came of their trip. The next to appear was the man from Belleville. He failed to find Lee unduly agitated. The lucky winner answered his call by appearing in a long-tailed nightshirt. Presumably the Belleville man sent word to Chicago describing Lee. He was not, it seemed, a country bumpkin but a man of experience. He had risen from cabin boy to captain of the packet *Nashville*, and in the Civil War had been captain and later colonel of Illinois troops.¹ Then he had married a Frenchwoman and settled down in Prairie du Rocher.

Lee agreed to come to Chicago, but a baffling secrecy enveloped his movements. When finally spotted on Chicago streets he was in the company of U. H. Crosby and a lawyer. One report said he bore a resemblance to Webster. When questions were asked, Albert Crosby, brother of Uranus, was designated as owner of the Opera House. The whole business looked tricky to the critical losers, who suspected fraud. Neither were they satisfied when it was announced that Lee had resold the Opera House to Crosby for \$200,000. The New York *Tribune*, which declared that "this business of lotteries is fast becoming an intolerable nuisance," figured that Crosby had held one chance in seven in his own lottery. The whole transaction smelled of deceit.

While some hard losers threatened to contest, arguing that Crosby could not convey the Opera House, others indulged in hilarious take-offs, especially in "saloons below the

¹ The Adjutant General's office has no record of Lee's Civil War record with Illinois troops.

street level." The group that called itself Pork Packers, having won a painting called "A Rocky Coast," staged a raffle with five hundred tickets in a pork barrel and used a simulated Indian messenger on a mule to notify the winner.

Lee had a final session with the Crosbys at which toasts were drunk. Then Lee was bundled out of Chicago on the special train that carried Adelaide Ristori and her troupe to her next engagement. The Chicago public was mystified and angry. The *Tribune* treated the affair with sarcasm. Figuring up what Crosby had taken in, and what he had paid in commissions, the *Tribune* announced that, even if he paid Lee \$200,000 to get his theater back, he had cleared \$650,000. Did Lee act for Crosby? It would seem so. Maybe the atmosphere became too frigid for Crosby, for he turned the Opera House over to his brother Albert and moved east. Four years later it vanished in the great fire and was never rebuilt.

On January 24, 1867, when all Chicago was debating and criticizing the Opera House lottery, a calm, scholarly man from the East spoke in Unity Hall. It was Ralph Waldo Emerson, reading his essay on "Napoleon, The Man of the World." Compared with the Opera House crowd his audience was a mere handful; what he said was not even reported. But in his lecture he spoke truths that are valid today: "Every experiment by multitudes or individuals, that has a sensual and selfish aim, will fail. Only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open, and which serves all men." It was a message that might well have been engraved on the tickets for the big lottery.

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF J. WILKES BOOTH

BY L. B. BAKER

Editor's Note:—The late Lieutenant L. B. Baker was a member of the United States detective bureau in 1865. Much of the material in this article may be found in his testimony before the Committee on the Judiciary of the first session of the Fortieth Congress, printed in 1867. Ray Tannard Baker, a nephew of the author, also used this data for an article published in *McClure's Magazine* in May, 1897. The original account, published here verbatim, seems never to have been printed before. It was received from Mrs. Don Berles of Grand Rapids, Michigan. From her the Editor of this *Journal* has learned that Lieutenant Baker moved to Lansing, Michigan, after receiving his share of the Booth reward. His horse, "Buckskin," was "stuffed" and put on display at the state capital. His daughter, Lu Baker, married Dr. W. O. Hedrick, professor of economics and history at Michigan State College. The typewritten manuscript was handed down to them, then on to Mrs. Berles, the granddaughter of Lieutenant Baker, who has consented to its publication here. S. A. Vetherbee, Assistant Editor in the Illinois State Historical Library, has applied the annotations.

[had been a Lieutenant in the First District of Columbia cavalry, but the war was over and I had been mustered out of the service. E. J. Conger had also been an officer in the same regiment—a lieutenant colonel—but having been wounded early in the war, had been compelled to forego very active service and, at the time of which we speak, he too had been mustered out, and both he and I, not as soldiers now, but as private citizens, were in the employment of the Government under General L. C. Baker. This Baker was a cousin of mine, he at this time being at the head of what was known in Washington as the "Detective Bureau of the War Department" and reporting directly to Secretary Stanton. On the day previous to the assassination General Baker was ordered to

New York City to look after a scheme he had there set on foot for capturing "bounty jumpers." On this expedition I accompanied him as an assistant. We had reached the city and were



LIEUT. BAKER ON "BUCKSKIN".

quartered at the Astor House. At half past eleven o'clock on the same evening came a telegram from Secretary Stanton, saying the President had been murdered and he wished us to return to Washington at once.

At six o'clock next morning I draped the whole front of our office on Vesey Street in mourning, and I had the honor of be-

ing the first to hang crepe in New York, as an expression of grief because of the Nation's great bereavement. Then, speeding back to Washington, we began the search for the men who had not only murdered Lincoln, but half murdered Secretary Seward and plotted for the murder of the whole cabinet, including General Grant and Vice President Johnson.

I was set about procuring the photographs, not only of Booth and Harold¹, but of the entire Confederate cabinet as well, for it was suspected of having instigated the whole murderous business. With a half dozen active men to help me, I was sent into lower Maryland to scatter all over that region these pictures and also descriptions of Booth and Harold together, with flaming handbills advertising large rewards offered for their capture, and if possible gain some clue as to the

¹ David E. Herold.

direction the fugitives had taken. We returned to Washington, having accomplished nothing apparently, and all this time the men we wanted were hiding in the swamps of that very locality. General Baker felt certain that this must be the case. The large reward offered (\$100,000)² filled the whole country between Washington and Port Tobacco with detectives. They would not work with us or give us any information they may have obtained. They preferred rather to throw us off the trail, hoping to follow it successfully themselves. And so over ten days had gone by and the murderers were still at large.

We said to General Baker, "The assassin has not gone south. He has taken another direction." But the General held firmly to his original theory. "There is no place of safety for them on earth" he said, "except among their friends of the till rebellious South. Booth knows it and will try to reach them for his life depends upon it." The old detective was right in his theory, even in general detail as I realized most completely when it was all over and I had been sent (as I was) over their entire route to gather information for use upon the trial of Booth's accomplices.

But now one of our detectives was ordered to take with him a telegraph operator with instruments and go into lower Maryland, attach the instrument to the wires at any convenient point, and act as a reliable medium of communication with the capital. There men discovered a voluble negro who told them that two men answering to the description of Booth and Harold had crossed the Potomac the Saturday night before in a sailing boat. This colored man was taken to Washington without delay and questioned. He was shown a number of likenesses together and at once pointed out the pictures of Booth and Harold and said "These are the men." It was believed the trail was found, and now for action!

² The actual award paid by the Treasurer of the United States for the capture of Booth and Herold amounted to \$75,000 which was distributed to thirty-four persons; for the capture of G. A. Atzerodt, \$25,000 was paid, distributed to nine persons; and for the capture of Lewis Paine, \$5,000 was paid, distributed to ten persons. George S. Bryan, *The Great American* (New York, 1940), 284.

An order was immediately sent General Hancock by the Secretary of War, directing him to furnish twenty-five mounted men to serve as an escort and guard to whomsoever General Baker might see fit to send upon the expedition. I was sent to the Quartermaster's department to arrange for transportation down the Potomac. On my return to the office I was informed by General Baker that I was to have charge of the party, and now the General explained to me fully his theory as to the whereabouts of the men we wanted, and instructed me up to a certain point, beyond which he said I must use my own judgment.

As I hurried out of the office to make some hasty preparations for the trip, I met Colonel Conger. "What is up?" said he. "After Booth again" said I, "we have a clue." "Get me out of the party, can't you?" "Are you strong enough to stand the ride?" I asked. "I think so and I want to go." I returned to the office to request that Colonel Conger go with me and the chief said, "All right."

A half hour later Lieutenant Dougherty³ of the 16th New York Cavalry had reported to General Baker for orders and was directed by him to go with us wherever we should order and protect us to the extent of his power should protection be needed. Conger and I, now mounted our trusty horses, ordered the guard to follow, and we were soon at the Sixth Street Dock and all aboard the Government Tug "John S. Ide." The whistle blew and we were steaming down the Potomac. It must have been about three o'clock in the afternoon when we started. At ten in the evening we were at Belle Plain landing. There is a sharp bend in the river here, and our chief had advised us to leave the tug at this landing, take to our horses and scour the country. Lieut. Dougherty and his men remained at the rear, but were ordered to keep us in sight. Conger and I commenced the work of the night by calling at the residence of the more prominent rebels. Assuming names of some well

³ Edward P. Doherty.

known rebel blockade runners and mail carriers, and with little regard for the truth, we said we were being pursued by the Yanks, and in crossing the river had become separated from two of our comrades, one of them being lame; had they seen them, etc. etc. All night at this kind of work, and no clue.

At daylight we threw off our disguise, halted for an hour for rest and refreshment; then again in our saddles. We had decided to change our course and strike across the country in the direction of Port Conway, a little town on the Rappahannock, southwesterly from Belle Plain. Between two and three o'clock P.M. were near there and stopped at a planter's house half a mile out, arranged for dinner and feed for our horses.

Conger was nearly exhausted and lay down for a rest; as did also the command with the exception of one man whom I took with me to the ferry, as I wished to "steal the march" before it became known that a searching party was in the neighborhood.

I found a fisherman sitting at the door of his hut, whose name was Rollins.⁴ I asked him if a lame man had crossed the river there with[in] a few days. "Yes," he replied, "and there was another man with him." I showed him my photographs. He at once pointed to the pictures of Booth and Harold and said, "These are the men, but this," referring to Booth, "had no mustache."

I cannot describe to you the thrill of intense satisfaction that came over me when I heard this statement. I was positive I had struck the trail; that I was the fortunate one among all the eager thousands engaged in the search. But not a moment was to be lost! My corporal was sent back to the farm house with orders for Conger and Dougherty to come with the command to the ferry without delay. Then alone with the fisherman, I plied him with questions. "When did you see these men?" "Yesterday." "Where did they go?" "I do not know certainly," he said. "They had hired me to take them across

⁴ William Rollins.

the river, but two men came up who seemed to know them and they four went across the river together." "Who were these men who came up?" "One of them said he was Capt. Jett and the other Lieut. Bainbridge.⁵ They had just been mustered out of 'Mosby's Confederate Cavalry'." "Do you know where they went?" "Well," drawled the fisherman, "this Capt. Jett has a ladylove over at Bowling Green and I reckon they might have gone there. Bowling Green is about fifteen miles south and west from here. It is a watering place, a big hotel there and not much of anything else. It would be a good place for a lame man to stay." "Well, Rollins," I said, "you must go with us to Bowling Green and show us the way." He said he did not wish to go, as but few people around there favored the Union cause, and it would not be very pleasant for him if they thought he was willing to help the Yanks. "But," said he, "you might put me under arrest and then I should go because I had to."

Of course Rollins was put under arrest. Conger now came down to the ferry with the command. After a short consultation it was decided to follow this lead at once. We could not now be far from the object of our search; and if they escaped us, it should be no fault of ours.

Booth was now fairly in rebeldom and among his friends. He had managed to evade all pursuers, crossed the Potomac and not less than 40 miles of country between it and the Rappahannock, and had been taken across the river at this point only yesterday.

The ferry boat was hailed and all were now impatient to be going. The boat was old and shaky, and it took three trips to get us across. The people there were very curious to know who we were and what we wanted. We told them we belonged to the 16th New York Cavalry and wanted to join our regiment at Fredericksburg.

It was nearly sundown before we were really on our way

⁵ W. S. Jett and A. R. Bainbridge.

to Bowling Green. Winding up the road from the river we saw two mounted men on the brow of the hill. They seemed to be watching us. Who could they be? Why were they so much interested in our movements? Booth's friends without doubt! We must have them if possible. We signalled to the men to slow up and Conger and I gave them chase, and it was a lively one, but as we were about overhauling them, they dashed into the pine woods and we did not think it best to follow them farther, but to get to Bowling Green as soon as possible or they might be there first. These men we afterward found were Bainbridge and Harold, and Booth was at that moment only half a mile from us at the farm house of the Garrett Bros.⁶ We passed the place a few moments later and he saw us, as we learned afterward; but we believed him to be at Bowling Green, fifteen miles away, and so we pushed on, leaving behind us the man we so much desired to capture.

Near the Bowling Green hotel we stopped and dismounted. It was near midnight, dark and cloudy, but no rain. In the yielding sand we approached the place undiscovered, until the building was surrounded and thoroughly guarded, front and rear. I was at the front door. Conger somewhere in the rear had aroused a dog which, by his growls, awakened a barky, who came to the back door and opened it, letting Conger in, and at the same time a frightened woman came downstairs and to the front door where I was pounding for admission, and opened it. Conger, coming through the house, met me in the hall. We told the woman it would be necessary for us to see the two men who were her guests. "There is but one man here," said she. "He is upstairs with my son." "Show us the room." She did so. We found the son and the man with him was Capt. Jett. "What do you want?" he demanded. "We want you. We know you. You took Booth across the river and we know where he is. You must tell us everything you

⁶ Richard H. Garrett was of pronounced Confederate sympathies. His two older sons, John and William, had recently returned from service with the Confederate armies; a younger son, Richard B., was a boy of eleven at this time. (Bryan, *Great American Myth*, 255-56.)

know." "You are mistaken in your man," said he. "You lie," said Conger, with a revolver close to his head. "We know what we are talking about. We are going to have Booth. You can tell us where he is and you must do it or prepare to die." The man quailed. The men were crowding into the room. He saw they were Union soldiers. He said "Upon honor as a gentleman I will tell you all I know if you will shield me from complicity in the whole matter." "Yes, if we get Booth." "Well," said Jett, "Booth is at the Garrett brothers' three miles this side of Port Conway. If you came that way you may have frightened him off, for you must have passed the place." Jett was ordered to get up and dress and go back with us and was told that his life would be the forfeit if he misled us in the search.

In thirty minutes we were doubling back over the road. No moon, no stars; half choked by the dust; it was too dark to see. The sand was deep over much of the road and made it hard for our jaded horses, but they were urged forward. Jett had a splendid animal, stronger and faster than ours, and fresh from the stall. We feared he might make a break from the party and try to escape, and perhaps dash on in advance of our weary horses and give the alarm to Booth and Harold so he was ordered to ride in the center, and the men were directed to shoot him without halting if he made one move to escape. At half past three A.M. we were back to the Garrett place. The house stood back from the road about twenty rods, with the usual gate and lane. Here we halted long enough to put Jett and Rollins under guard and to stimulate our men with the promise that if they could hold out a short time longer, we would have our man. I opened the gate, was quickly mounted and we made a dash for the house, which was immediately surrounded. I leaped from my horse to the piazza and was at the door in a moment rapping vigorously.

A window near the door and opening into the porch was thrown up and an old man's voice asked what was wanted.

stepped to the window, seized the man's arm and said, "Open the door and get a light and be quick about it." He opened the door, I went in and shut it. A moment more and the old gentleman appeared with a lighted tallow candle in his hand. I took the candle from him before he could think of objecting and said, "Where are the men who have been staying here for the last day or two?" "Gone to the woods," said he. "Don't you tell me that, they are here," my pistol in his face. A door at the side of the hall now opened and a woman said, "Here, father, are your clothes; dress yourself." Conger now came in, followed by young Garrett.

"Don't injure father," said the young man. "I will tell you all about it. The men did go to the woods last evening when some cavalry went by, but they came back and wanted us to take them over to Louisa court house. We could not take them before morning if at all. Besides we had become suspicious of them and would not let them stay in the house. Then they wanted to stay in the barn until morning and we consented, but were afraid they would steal our horses to get away with in the night, and my brother is now in the corn crib watching them. We have locked them in the barn." Evidently the Garretts did not know who the men were who had been imposing upon their hospitality.

Conger lost no time in stationing the men around the barn, and I said to young Garrett, "Show me the barn." He led the way. I followed, candle in one hand, revolver in the other. About half way he stopped and said, "My brother in the corn crib has the key, I will go and get it." "No, you do not leave me for a moment; I will go with you." But now the other came up and gave me the key.

On reaching the barn, I said to young Garrett, "We find these men in your custody, and you must go into the barn and induce them to come out and give themselves up. We want them and will have them, dead or alive, but we do not wish to injure them if we can avoid it." The young man did not

like this proposition and said so. "They are desperate fellows," said he, "and are armed to the teeth." But I kept him well under my revolver, which fact he seemed fully to appreciate, and lost no time in obeying my orders.

Conger, who had just been mustered out of the service and was therefore, but a citizen in authority over soldiers, seemed to have overlooked this fact in his excitement and earnestness, and ordered the men in regard to their positions around the barn, which assumption of authority Lieut. Dougherty resented and made us feel it by keeping himself in the background afterward. But there was no time now to consider wounded official dignity.

We could hear voices in low conversation in the barn and a rustling among the corn leaves. This barn was simply an old tobacco house, and had quite a quantity of corn fodder or corn blades, as they called them, stored at one side.

I now unlocked the door and told young Garrett to go in and get the men to surrender if he could, but at all events bring out their arms. He thought it best to go in, though not without a protest. I closed the door after him. There was low conversation and we heard Booth say, "Damn you! You have betrayed me; get out of here or I will shoot you."

I now called to the men in the barn and said, "We see this young man, in whose custody we find you. Give him your arms and surrender or we shall burn the barn and have a bonfire and a shooting match." Soon Garrett came to the door and said, "Captain, let me out. I will do anything I can for you but I can't risk my life in here. Let me out." I opened the door; he came out with a bound.

All this time I had been holding in my hand the candle brought from the house. Garrett said, "Put that out or he will shoot you by its light." I set the candle down at a little distance from the door, but so that it would still light all the space in front of the barn. All the men had their stations back in the shadows, for men who will fight like demons in a

open field do not like to stand as targets. But duty kept me by the door in the circle of light, as now if I should "go down" the rest would not be left in darkness that would favor the assassin in a dash for life and liberty.

Now again I called to those inside to surrender. In a clear, full, ringing voice Booth replied, "There is a man here who wishes very much to surrender." And soon we heard him say to Harold, "Leave me will you? Go! I do not want you to stay." Harold was now rapping at the door, saying, "Let me out. I know nothing of this man in here." I said, "Bring out the arms and you can come." "I have no arms," he answered. "You have," said I, "you brought a carbine and a pistol across the river. Hand them out." Booth then said, "He has no arms. They are mine and I shall keep them." Harold was evidently afraid of being shot by Booth. He fairly prayed to be let out. I opened the door a little and told him to put out his hands. I grasped them, pulled him out, and turned him over to the soldiers. The poor fellow was badly frightened, and he kept protesting his innocence and ignorance of whom Booth was until Conger told him to stop his noise or we would tie and gag him.

I now said to Booth, "You had better come out, too, and surrender." He answered, "Tell me who you are and what you want of me. It may be I am being taken by my friends." I said, "It makes no difference who we are. We want you. We have fifty well armed men around this barn. You cannot escape and we do not wish to kill you." There was a little pause and then Booth said, "Captain, this is a hard case, I wear. I am lame. Give me a chance. Draw up your men twenty yards from the door and I will fight your whole command." "We are not here to fight," I said, "but to take you. You are now free to come out and surrender." "Give me a little time to consider." "Very well, you can have two minutes." Presently he said, "Captain, I believe you to be a brave and honorable man. I have had half a dozen chances to shoot

you. I have a bead drawn on you now, but I do not wish to do it. Withdraw your men from the door and I will come out. Give me this chance for my life, Captain, for I will not be taken alive." "Your time is up," said I; "we shall wait no longer; we shall fire the barn." "Well then, my brave boys you may prepare a stretcher for me," and, after a slight pause he added, "One more stain on the glorious old banner!"

Col. Conger then came up and said, "Are you ready?" "Yes" said I. He stepped around the corner of the barn struck a match and drew some of the dry corn blades through a crevice. In an instant it was light inside. I was at the door and the moment the light appeared I partly opened it and peered in and could see Booth distinctly. He seemed to be leaning against the mow, but in the act of springing forward with crutches under his arms and carbine in hand, toward the fire, as though he would shoot the man who lighted it, but the sudden light must have blinded him so that he couldn't see into the darkness outside. He hesitated, then started forward as if to extinguish the fire. An old table was nearby. He caught hold of it as though he would cast it, top down, on the fire to extinguish it, but the fire was too quick for him and he saw that this would not do.

He now turned, dropped one crutch, and with the aid of the other came toward the door. About the center of the barn he stopped, drew himself up to his full height and seemed to take in the entire situation. I wish I could make you see Wilkes Booth as I saw him now. He forgot that he was lame; he stood erect and defiant, though one crutch was by his side. His hat was gone, his dark hair was pushed back from a high white forehead; his lips were firmly compressed and if he was pale, the ruddy firelight concealed the fact. There was a carbine [in] one hand, a revolver in the other, a belt held another revolver and a bowie knife. I can give you no idea of the expression of the features. It was the ferocity of the tiger. It was the defiance of the lion, hunted to his lair. The full

lark, expressive eyes that had been the admiration of lovers of the theatre, were glittering now and rolling wildly with hatred, mingled with terror. Booth, as an actor, had been said to have the "form of an Apollo." Now it was the picture of an Apollo in a frame of fire. The little flame Conger had kindled had swept upward to the roof, widening as it rose, driving a cloud of smoke and burning corn leaves before it, now rolled like a billow across the roof to the opposite side and to the floor below. Booth was standing under and within an arch of fire, curling, leaping, roaring, hissing as in mockery of his misery. Ah! this was not the brilliant lighting of the theatre; the roaring of the flames was not like the swelling music of the orchestra.

But for once in his life Booth was a great actor. The curtain had risen for the last time; the play of his life had rounded up into one great moral lesson—that selfishness and crime can end only in disaster, despair and death.

He had been denied even his passionate prayer for one last chance for his life by being permitted to fight us all. Only one thing more could be done,—make a dash for the door, shoot whoever barred his exit, run the gauntlet of he knew not how many bullets, and in the darkness beyond hide himself from our pursuit. Suddenly he dropped his remaining crutch, threw down his carbine, raised his revolver and made a spring for the door. In an instant there was a crack of a pistol. Booth fell forward upon his face.

I was upon him in a moment and caught his arms to prevent his use of weapons, if he should be only stunned. Another moment and Conger was there. I then turned up the face of the quivering form before us and said to Conger, "It was Booth sure." "He must have shot himself," said Conger. "No," said I, "I had my eye upon him every moment, but the man who did do the shooting goes back to Washington under arrest for disobedience of orders."

Sergeant Boston Corbitt⁷ afterward admitted that he fired the fatal shot. This Boston Corbitt was a very eccentric character. He was not considered to be quite up to the normal standard in intellectual capacity, but was unique in his religious development.

He was born in London, England, in 1832, and came to this country when he was seven years of age. He was a hair finisher by trade and wandered about the country from city to city, not having a permanent home. While in Boston he joined the Methodist Episcopal church and when he was baptized took the name of "Boston" in honor of the place of his conversion. He was well known in New York City and while there was a constant attendant on the famous Fulton Street meetings, and was the terror of those having charge of the meetings because of what was considered his fanaticism. When anything pleased [him] he would shout in a sharp, shrill voice "Amen! Glory to God!" All remonstrance was in vain and Corbitt would shout to the last.

He enlisted in the 12th Regiment of the New York State Militia, but was perpetually in hot water because he persisted in following the dictates of his conscience rather than military orders. He was often seen in the guardhouse with his knapsack filled with brick, working out the penalty of his disobedience and with his Testament in hand preaching temperance, lifting up his voice against swearing, and calling upon his wild comrades to seek the Lord.

One day at dress parade in Franklin Square, Col. Butterfield cursed and damned the regiment for something that displeased him. Corbitt stepped from the ranks and, with salute, said, "Colonel, do you know you are breaking God's law?" Of course he was put under arrest and duly punished but "for righteousness' sake," as he viewed it. On another occasion he made up his mind that the time for which he enlisted expired at 12 o'clock at night on a certain date. H

⁷ Thomas P. Corbett.

gave due notice that he should leave at that time. But he was put on picket and as the hour of midnight was sounded, he laid his gun down upon his beat and marched off to his tent to make preparations for an early start in the morning. He was arrested, put in irons and charges preferred. He was tried by court martial for deserting his post in the face of the enemy and sentenced to be shot until he was dead.⁸ But the sentence was not executed as timely application was made by his Colonel to the great-hearted Abraham Lincoln, who after a patient hearing of the case and inquiring into Corbitt's general character, put his "A. Lincoln" to a pardon, thereby sparing the life of the man who was to slay his own assassin. But poor Corbitt was drummed out of his regiment, and the next we know of him he is in Company L of the 16th New York Cavalry, and one of the detail composing our escort.

After Corbitt shot Booth from the rear of the barn and just as day was breaking, he was crossing the lawn just in front of the Garrett place. He was pointed out to Conger as the man who did the shooting. Conger hailed him with some profanity and demanded why he shot against orders. Corbitt took the position of a soldier and saluting the Colonel, pointed heavenward and said, "Colonel, God Almighty directed me." "Well," said Conger, turning on his heel, "I guess He did or you couldn't have hit him through that crack in the barn."

From this brief sketch of his character, you will see that in times of excitement and great emergencies he was not to be trusted.

And still later he said that from his position in the rear of the barn he could see very distinctly every movement of Booth after the fire sprang up; and when he dropped his carbine, raised his revolver and sprang for the door, he felt certain that the first man met would be shot; that Lieut. Baker was in full sight and would certainly have been killed but for his pistol shot from the rear.

⁸ B. B. Johnson, *Abraham Lincoln and Boston Corbett* (Boston, 1914), 48, states that "the court-martial story is a fiction."

Some of the men rushed into the barn. Young Garrett came with them, shouting "Save my property! Help put out the fire!" Some feeble effort was made to do so but we caught up the body and carried it from the barn, which now was a mass of flames, and laid it by an apple tree, and no effort was spared to bring Booth back to life. Water was dashed into his face and we tried to make him drink, but he seemed unable to swallow. Presently he opened his eyes and seemed to understand it all. His lips moved, and in a whisper he said "Tell mother, tell mother." Then he was unconscious. Again the heat from the fire made it necessary to move and we carried him to the piazza and laid him on a straw mattress provided by the ladies of the house. A cloth wet in water and brandy was applied to his lips. He revived under it a little opened his eyes and said with bitterness, "Oh, kill me! Kill me quick!" "No, Booth," I said, "we do not want you to die you were shot against orders." Then he was unconscious for several minutes and we scarcely thought he would speak again.

But again his breast heaved. He looked up and put out his tongue. I thought he wanted to know if there was blood in his mouth. I told him there was none. But almost immediately he said, "Tell mother I died for my country. I did what I thought was best." And then I knew that he wanted it understood that the last words his tongue could speak were coined into a "dying message" to the mother he was to meet no more.

Ah! Friends, shall I lose your respect for me as a soldier when I acknowledge that tears rushed to my eyes when I heard these words of the dying Booth?

I thought of a mother's sacred love, of a mother's despairing sorrow, and I knew that Booth was thinking of it too, with eternity's wide gate before him; "invisible hands rolling back the massive portals;" a just God to be met and answered. The gentle, loving face of the mother of his innocent childhood had come to him as a blessed vision, and even in the moment of struggle with Terror's King, he knew what that mother

would suffer and sought to leave behind him a message that might serve in some slight degree to mitigate her anguish. . . .

I think it was in pity for that mother's love and bitter sorrow that I lifted his hand with a touch as gentle as could have been her own, but it fell again as if dead by his side. He said, "Useless, useless!" gasped a few times, and Booth was dead.

When his collar was removed, to find the wound, it was found that the bullet had struck him in almost the exact locality that his own bullet had struck the president. The great nerve of the spinal column had been nearly severed. Paralysis of the entire body below the wound must have been the instant result, and probably accounted for his last words, "Useless, useless."

About twenty minutes before the final scene Conger had started for Washington, taking with him Booth's arms, diary and whatever else was found upon his person. The neighborhood physician had said the end was very near. I would wait with the guard and bring the body. The Garretts were preparing breakfast for the hungry men. The body was quickly wrapped in a blanket that had been folded and used as a saddle cloth and strongly sewed together. Then it was placed in an old market wagon, with an aged colored man to drive. I took my lunch in my hand and only a corporal with me. I told the darky to drive on and we started for Belle Plain landing, leaving the men to breakfast and then follow and overtake us.⁹

We crossed the river at the ferry and drove on at as good speed as the old horse before the wagon could make, for Belle Plain was nearly thirty miles away. The river was soon two or three miles behind us.

I frequently looked back expecting to see the guard come up, but no cavalry appeared. The road did not seem well trav-

⁹ The following account of the transporting of Booth's body to the river and of hiding it in a clump of willows in the care of a Negro differs from most stories of this event. It is, however, substantially the same as Lieutenant Baker's testimony at the impeachment investigation of President Andrew Johnson, printed in *House Report No. 7.*, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., 1867, p. 485. Ray Stannard Baker used it also in his article in *McClure's Magazine*.

eled. I began to be anxious and questioned the negro. He said, "Massa, dis is all right. I hab been ober dis road many and many a time before de war and I am sure it is the shortest road to de Belle Plain." But I sent my corporal back toward the ferry to inform Lieut. Dougherty what road I had taken, and instructed him to come on at once. I also told the corporal to return to me after delivering his message. He did not come. No cavalry came in sight. I met few teams. The road grew more and more forbidding. I began to meet straggling squads of men in Confederate uniform. But what had become of Lieut. Dougherty? He had Harold in charge. Had the party been surprised and overpowered? Would not I be followed? Was the darky in league with the enemy? I knew I was going toward Belle Plain, but was satisfied I was not on the proper road. The day was grown hot and sultry. I was constantly meeting men in gray, who often looked at the wagon curiously. Some would ask, "What have you there? A dead Yank?" "Yes," I would reply cheerily, and they believed me and passed on, laughing and joking.

I had been in the saddle for two days and nights. I was hungry and exhausted, but too anxious to be sleepy. I threatened the negro with instant death if he betrayed me. The road wound up and down, in and out among the hills and was badly gullied. I was constantly on the alert. I half expected an attack from every ravine. Should I ever get this body to Washington?

The old horse was tired and began to lag. It was hard work to get him up the hills. I had nothing to feed him, the darky or myself. I dared not stop anywhere for rest or food. Now the king-bolt of the old wagon gave out and the front end of the box dropped down. The body slid forward. It emitted a sickening odor. Blood had flowed from the wound and trickled down over axle and reach. The old darky had to go under the wagon to help repair the break. Blood dropped on his hand and he cried out in terror. "Stop your noise," I

said. "That will not harm you; it will wash off." "Oh," groaned he, "it will neber wash off. It is de blood of a murderer." And he looked all the horror he expressed.

But now we were off again, winding up more hills, threading more ravines, meeting more Confederates. I was painfully conscious that I was in an enemy's country with a most important charge on my hands, and that somehow a mistake had been made, separating me from my guard furnished for just such an emergency.

Looking over all the days of my life, I find no other day so full of anxiety, so exhaustive of physical strength and mental endurance. I was glad indeed when it grew cooler and the shades of night were falling to conceal my charge.

But my troubles were not to end with the daylight. We reached the Potomac at last, but we found no dock, no boat. Sometime during the war the Government had changed the landing from this point to Aquia Creek, three quarters of a mile farther down. I could see the "John S. Ide" lying at that dock, but I had no boat by which I could reach the tug. I might shout and make them hear, but to do so might bring me enemies sooner than friends. A great bluff reared its mountainous head between me and the boat. There was no road over it near the river. I must ride around it and get to the boat and row up the river for the body, for the old horse before the wagon could go no farther.

With the help of the negro I carried the body down to the river and hid it under a clump of willows; then told the negro to stay there and guard it. He promised to be faithful and discreet, and I started back nearly two miles over the road I had just traveled. I struck a road that would lead me around the spur of the mountain; then, not sparing my poor, jaded horse, I was soon at the boat. All the men were there. I asked the orderly why he did not return to me. He said Lieut. Dougherty would not allow him to do so and had said that if I would go off on the wrong road I must take the consequences.

A small boat from the tug was lowered for me, and with two of the crew to row, we pulled for the upper landing. I found my negro just where I had left him, faithful to his trust. I paid him for his services and discharged him with thanks. The body was put into the boat and a few moments later was hoisted up the side and swung upon the deck of the "John S. Ide." I saw it properly under guard, and then the next two or three hours are a blank to me. I sunk exhausted on the deck and lay there in the shadow of the smokestack, unobserved, until we had steamed up the river half way to Washington, when we were met by another boat, having on board Gen. L. C. Baker, Gen. Eckard, assistant secretary of war, Surgeon-General Barnes,¹⁰ and others. As my cousin came upon the deck he almost stumbled over me, still lying in a sound and blessed sleep. He got me up and into a better place to rest. The morning found us at the dock of the Navy Yard at Washington.

The body was at once removed from the tug to a gunboat which lay nearby, while I went with Gen. Baker to the office of the secretary of war. Gen. [Sec.] Stanton then wished me to give him a complete and detailed account of the entire matter and I did so. He had Booth's carbine, which had been brought by Col. Conger, and Stanton said to me, "Are you accustomed to handling a carbine, and if so, what is the matter with this? It cannot be discharged." I examined the weapon and found that the cartridge had gotten out of position, turned partly around, so that when the lever was worked, the cartridge was not thrown into position to be exploded. It was marked in several places, showing that a number of unsuccessful efforts had been made to use the piece; perhaps it was because it could not be discharged that Booth threw it down in the barn as he did.

Late in the afternoon of the second day after reaching Washington, Gen. Baker came from the war office and said

¹⁰ Thomas T. Eckert and Joseph K. Barnes. Eckert was not assistant secretary of war at this time. He was appointed to that position on July 27, 1866.

to me, "The secretary of war wishes me to dispose of Booth's body. He says he don't want the Rebs to get it and make an ado over it. He does not care where it is put, only let it be where it won't be found until Gabriel blows his last trumpet."

"I want you to go with me," said Gen. Baker. We started for the navy yard. On the way we would pass the old penitentiary which, during the war had been used as an arsenal. Here we stopped and I waited outside while my cousin went in and had a brief interview with the officer in charge; then on to the navy yard. Booth's body was placed in a row boat. We put in a heavy ball and chain and did not try to conceal it from the many watching eyes. One trusty man was in the boat to help us row.

Gen. Baker stepped in; I followed. A few touches of the oars and we had parted company with the gun boat and were half rowing, half drifting down the river. Crowds of people were all along the shore. It went from lip to lip that we had with [us] a heavy ball and chain and that, of course, we were going to sink the body. Many followed as far as they could, but Each Branch [Anacostia River] on one side and the marshy ground on the other prevented their going far. Darkness came on quickly and completely, for it was a moonless and starless night. A couple of miles down the river was a place known as Geeseborough Point.¹¹ The stream here suddenly widens and is full of rushes and river weeds. We quietly ran our boat into a cove in the river bank and rested our oars.

Old, condemned Government horses were being brought here and killed. We did not think any boat that might be following us would come to this dismal slaughter ground. All was still on the river. Yes, all was very "quiet on the Potomac" just then. No sounds came to our sensitive ears but the hoarse croak of the bullfrog and the quick, heavy breathing of our frightened boatman. Presently we began pulling slowly back. Soon against the clouded sky we could discern the grim old

¹¹ Giesboro Point, D.C.

penitentiary walls. A few more strokes of the oar and we were before a door, seemingly let into the solid wall and almost at the water's edge. The officer in charge was there waiting for us. The body was lifted from the boat and carried through the little door to a convict's cell. The stone slab which covered the floor had been lifted and a grave dug under it, and down into the black, dismal hole; into that unhonored grave we lowered the once proud, aristocratic, but now despised and hated J. Wilkes Booth. The stone was replaced and we turned shudderingly from a sepulchre on which no tear of sympathy could ever fall.

It was believed we had sunk the body in the Potomac and for days the river was dragged in hope of finding it, and Frank Leslie's¹² paper had a very accurate, full page cut of Booth's body sliding out of the boat into the water. But the half dozen men who alone knew the real place of burial kept the secret well. After a time it was rumored that Booth's body had been taken up and given to his friends, though I have no positive knowledge in regard to it. I have reason to believe that it was removed from the prison cell after the execution of his accomplice[s], and buried in the jail yard of the old penitentiary, with his companions in crime; and still later I have reason to believe that, by consent of President Johnson, it was given to his friends and again removed, and now rests in the family plot of the cemetery at Baltimore. But I always think of him with the much hated U. S. blanket for a winding sheet and under the stone floor of that dark, lonely prison cell.¹³

¹² *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, May 20, 1865.

¹³ During the final days of Andrew Johnson's administration he gave the family of John Wilkes Booth possession of the body. Buried in the Booth family lot in Green Mount Cemetery, Baltimore, Md., it is not marked by a separate stone. (Bryan, *Great American Myth*, 306-21.)

MORGAN COUNTY'S DOG FENNEL WAR*

An Account of the Cass County Invasion of
Jacksonville in 1863

BY JAY MONAGHAN

ON September 14, 1863, several hundred determined-looking farmers rode into Jacksonville, Illinois. It was seven o'clock in the morning. Many of them were dressed in homespun of a color and cut known as butternut. The name was also used to designate country people who favored the South in the Civil War. The farmers tied their horses along the hitch racks and stood in little knots around the square. Many of them carried shotguns.¹ Some had wicked-looking corn knives, Arkansas toothpicks they were sometimes called. Townsfolk looked out their doors and windows at the strangers.

In 1863 such an assemblage was suspicious. A large percentage of the people in Illinois opposed the Civil War. Three grim years' fighting had failed to bring victory. The by-elections of 1862 showed the people's discontent.² A majority of the so-called "peace Democrats" now ruled the legislature. In June, 1863, the newly organized House passed a resolution against continuing the war. The bill was sent to the Senate, and killed by filibuster—a narrow escape for Lincoln's partisans. The disgruntled legislature proceeded to get even by initiating a number of antiadministration bills to thwart the war effort. Governor Richard Yates, a Lincoln man, struck

* This is the written version of a talk given before the Morgan County Historical Society in May, 1945.

¹ *Jacksonville Journal*, Sept. 17, 1863.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1863.

back with a secret weapon. A little-known and never-used provision in the state constitution gave him the right to prorogue the legislature. Seizing this unsuspected executive power, Yates ordered his antagonists to disperse.³

Members of the legislature were furious. They called the Governor a tyrant. What right had he thus to quash popular government? For several days the solons remained in their seats, refusing to go home. The Governor had exceeded his authority, they told each other, and they gained self-confidence and indignation with each telling. Peace-minded Democrats throughout the state flocked to Springfield with advice. On June 17, 1863, 40,000 dissatisfied citizens met in convention. They criticized the Lincoln administration and called for a national convention to arrange peace and "restoration of the Union"⁴—strange bedfellows.

The citizens of Jacksonville would not have feared the suspicious farmers in their town on the morning of September 14 if antiadministration demonstrations had always been confined to peaceful conventions. But lawlessness had been increasing as the war became more burdensome. Deserters from the army had been slinking back to their homes in large numbers for over a year. Sometimes they came in parties and defied the authorities. Hosts of their friends in the old home town often hid them. At other times citizens organized to prevent their arrest. A mob in DuQuoin rescued a squad of deserters from a deputy marshal. In Franklin County, reports said that a hundred armed deserters dared anyone to come and get them.⁵ South of Jacksonville, just below the Greene County line, thirty or forty armed deserters were reported to be encamped along Apple Creek. Many people whispered that these outlaws planned a raid on Jacksonville because it was an abolitionist town.

³ Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War 1848-1870 (Centennial History of Illinois III, Springfield, 1919)*, 299.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁵ *War of the Rebellion. . . Official Records*, Ser. III, Vol. III, p. 508.

Regardless of armed protests against the war, Lincoln had boldly ordered a draft on March 3, 1863. Real trouble followed. Minor riots occurred in Rutland, Vermont; Boston, Massachusetts; Portsmouth, New Hampshire; and Wooster, Ohio. In Holmes County, Ohio, disgruntled citizens skirmished with drafting officers.⁶ New York City, with its large Irish population, became especially ugly. Tammany Hall controlled enough votes to give the city a Democratic majority. New York bankers felt keen sympathy for their customers—the southern slaveholders. At the beginning of the war, Mayor Fernando Wood had suggested seceding, along with the South, as a Free City. In July, 1863—two months before the Jacksonville trouble—the Manhattan draft started. Jury wheels were set up for drawing names. A crowd gathered. The city, paved with round cobblestones, was ideal for rioting. Easily pried up, cobblestones began to fly through the windows of the draft headquarters. In no time the mob was out of hand. The police were powerless. For four days the mob ruled the city. A thousand people were killed—a million and a half dollars' worth of property burned. At last the army marched into town and restored order.

The draft had excited disloyal Illinoisans also. Officers in Williamson County attempted to register all able-bodied men, but they could not carry out their orders until a detachment of soldiers was stationed at Carbondale to protect them. At Hickory Grove an agitator harangued a meeting of farmers to resist the draft with arms if necessary.⁷ More peaceful, but fully as determined, citizens on Indian Creek in Morgan County were reported to have pulled each other's teeth and so unfitted themselves for military service. Good teeth were considered requisites for eating government rations and for biting the ends from cartridges.⁸ Draft officers in Fulton

⁶ Eugene H. Roseboom, *The Civil War Era, 1850-1873* (*The History of the State of Ohio*, IV, Columbus, 1944), 410.

⁷ *Jacksonville Journal*, Aug. 27, 1863.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1863.

County found their work impossible in many townships. Angry men in Joliet, Mount Sterling, and Peoria rioted on registration days. An officer in Moultrie County was killed and 2,000 armed men sent word that they were ready to deal out the same fate to any man who came to take his job. In Jonesboro some of the leading citizens were charged with obstructing the draft and were put in military prisons. "If we must fight, we'll fight in our own dooryards," became a common enough saying. In the Tenth Congressional District, 8,000 mounted men⁹ were reported to be drilling regularly to resist federal soldiers. As close to Jacksonville as Waverly, a mass meeting protested registration and exhorted all freedom-loving citizens to resist the Lincoln tyranny. Merchants in Jacksonville remembered that Butternuts had bought an unusually large amount of powder and lead as soon as the draft was ordered. When asked the reason for such unusual purchases the countrymen stammered incoherently and appeared embarrassed.¹⁰

Is there any wonder that the armed strangers in town on September 14 alarmed the leading citizens? To make matters worse the Butternuts increased in number steadily. Every few minutes another group of two or three or a dozen jogged into town. Wagons full of broad-hatted men rumbled into the square. Several people saw musket butts through the open endgates of the wagons. These men must contemplate violence. Jacksonville remembered with a shudder the sacking of Lawrence, Kansas, less than a month before.¹¹ Four hundred and fifty Missourians led by William Clarke Quantrill had galloped out of Missouri upon the unsuspecting town, and set fire to the principal buildings. Men, women, and children were butchered. Then the guerrillas galloped away. A hundred and eighty-two corpses were identified by the terror-stricken survivors. People in Jacksonville had read that this

⁹ *Jacksonville Journal*, Sept. 17, 1863.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1863.

¹¹ Lawrence was sacked on Aug. 21, 1863.

same Quantrill had attended the June 17 convention in Springfield¹²—the meeting held immediately after the legislature was prorogued. No one knew Quantrill by sight. He might be among the men lounging in the square today. The Butternuts spoke often of a thousand horsemen bivouacked in the purple fog fennel down on the Mauvaise Terre bottoms, waiting orders to charge the town. Perhaps Quantrill was with them. These strangers looked like Missouri Border Ruffians. At best they must be Knights of the Golden Circle.¹³

This mysterious secret order had been founded in Cincinnati in 1854 by adventurous Southerners.¹⁴ The original Knights planned a great filibustering expedition. They hoped to conquer Mexico, Central and part of South America. New plantations were to be opened by slave labor in a golden circle around the Gulf. The Civil War had frustrated their ambition and since 1861 the Knights had become underground champions of the Confederacy. Sterling Price, major general in the Confederate Army, was believed to be one of the Exalted Rulers. In Ohio, people pointed to Clement Vallandigham as King of the Round Table. He had declared the Civil War an unholy crusade to set up a Republican despotism. Arrested for preaching opposition to conscription, a court-martial had sentenced him to imprisonment for the duration of the war. Lincoln had commuted his sentence to banishment in the Confederacy. Unhappy in the South, Vallandigham ran the blockade and went to Windsor, Canada. There, in sight of the United States, he campaigned for governor of Ohio. At the same time, so people said, he directed the operations of the Golden Circle.

The Knights were believed to have several lodges, or castles, in Morgan County, Illinois. One-third of the Democrats in the county were reputed members.¹⁵ Many Republi-

¹² *Daily Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 3, 1863. *Jacksonville Journal*, Oct. 8, 1863.

¹³ J. N. Gridley, "The Husted or Jacksonville Raid," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. V, No. 2 (July, 1912), 209.

¹⁴ Wood Gray, *The Hidden Civil War*. (The Viking Press, 1942), 70.

¹⁵ *Jacksonville Journal*, Aug. 27, 1863.

cans claimed that all Democrats were Knights and traitors too. Deserters from the army could always find asylum within the Golden Circle. Some of these refugees were believed to be high-ranking officers in the order. Without doubt the armed bands of horsemen who drilled regularly in many places were Knights.

The *Jacksonville Journal* dared print the Knights' constitution and secret oath—a three-and-a-quarter-column exposure.¹⁶ Partisan newspapers maintained that the Knights planned a general massacre. Every man's threshold was to be marked, like the Israelites' of old. When the bloody work began none but known friends would be spared.

Republicans had countered the Circle by forming a secret organization of their own—the Union League.¹⁷ Two quick blows, three times repeated, with a cane on the sidewall warned all loyal men that danger was imminent. The League had many members in Jacksonville. The Circle ruled the surrounding country. Over Meredosia way the rivermen—in close touch with the South—resented Jacksonville's New England culture, its schools, its wealth, and especially its attitude toward slavery. The *Jacksonville Journal*, a Lincoln paper even went so far as to make fun of the Democrats' hatred of the African, the Black Laws, Democratic opposition to free Negroes. The *Journal* had mocked the proslavery papers by copying a bogus advertisement of a slave (from a plantation recently captured by Union troops), offering a fifty-cent reward for his runaway master.¹⁸ This provocative advertisement had described all the white man's physical defects with the candor which masters customarily used towards slaves. Such impudence was sufficient to make proud Southerners hate Jacksonville. It was bad enough to have slave property confiscated by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, but to be made ridiculous at the same time was more than a slaveholder should

¹⁶ *Jacksonville Journal*, Dec. 31, 1863.

¹⁷ Gray, *Hidden Civil War*, 143.

¹⁸ *Jacksonville Journal*, March 12, 1863.

be expected to stand. But this was not all. Jacksonville's "abolition sheet" went further and mocked some resolutions said to have been passed by the Democrats at Winchester. The superior race of white Southerners was quoted as talking in rural and bad English. Their common sense was questioned. It was unpleasant to read in a Jacksonville paper that they had:

Resolved, That niggers is contagious, and, if permitted to come here, we, having a strong predisposition, might *catch 'em*.

Resolved, That God made us, but we don't exactly know whether he made niggers or not; and until that question is settled, we're down on em. . . .

Resolved, That niggers stink considerable, especially free niggers. . . .

Resolved, That niggers have no business to be niggers nohow.¹⁹

This had been funny when it was published but it was not so amusing on September 14 when Jacksonville was filled with armed and irate farmers who did not like to be laughed at. Suddenly the tat-tat tat-tat tat-tat of the Union League was heard—phantom woodpeckers calling and answering up and down the brick sidewalks. Clerks at the bank on the west side of the square appeared with pistols at their belts. Guns were displayed ominously along the bank's counters. There would be no Butternut raid on their vault. Leaguers sent a telegram to Camp Butler for the army—or pretended to. The newspaper office was barricaded. An old cannon was loaded.²⁰ Orders were shouted, so the Butternuts said, to bring up the repeating rifles—weapons reputed to be much superior to the invaders' double-barreled guns. The Knights might boast of a thousand reserves hiding in the dog fennel along the Mauvaise Terre, the League would surprise them all with secret weapons in their stables and root cellars.

Both sides stood ready for the first overt act. Then somebody asked who were the embattled farmers anyway, and why had they come to Jacksonville only to stand idly on the street?

The answer was quickly given. The invaders said that they were citizens of Cass County. They had not come to rob

¹⁹ *Jacksonville Journal*, May 7, 1863.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1863; *Daily Illinois State Register*, Sept. 17, 1863.

the bank, to massacre the women and children, or even to destroy the records for the draft. They had come to see that John Husted got a fair hearing before Justice Jeremiah Piereson.

John Husted lived at Beardstown. He had acted as doorkeeper during the last legislative session²¹ which the Governor had prorogued. People said that Husted was a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle. Early in August the newspapers announced that the Knights had held a convention in Chicago to force the cessation of the war. John Husted and his patron, Representative James M. Epler of Cass County were said to have attended—pure conjecture, as the meeting was a secret one. But on August 8, Epler and Husted were reported to be on board a train²²—presumably coming back from the Chicago convention—when it stopped at the Great Western station in Jacksonville. Husted leaned out the window and saw John W. Stokes standing on the platform near the cars. The train moved forward. Husted grasped Stokes by the coat collar as the train passed, and dragged him along the platform. Stokes struggled, broke loose, and fell between the platform and the moving train. Fortunately he was not crushed by the turning wheels. He got up, brushed his mussed clothes, went up town and swore out a warrant for the arrest of John Husted.

The real reason for the enmity between the two men may never be known. Stokes was a resident of Meredosia. Recently a newspaper had announced that he was an apostate Knight of the Golden Circle who proposed to expose the whole castle. Local political chiefs fumed and threatened. Stokes hastened to publish a card denying the allegation. He was opposed to the order on principle, he said, but if there was a castle in Meredosia he knew nothing about it. He claimed to be as good a Democrat as any man but not a Copperhead. In

²¹ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1863.

²² *Ibid.*

stead he prided himself on being a fighting Democrat of the Grant-Logan-McClernand school. He was employed, he said, by the government, in spite of his politics, to bring to justice deserters and traitors. He was proud of it. He had not wittingly exposed anybody and he knew of nothing to expose.²³

This explanation was only partly satisfactory to the Knights. By his own testimony Stokes admitted that he was employed to spy on deserters—and “was proud of it.” Such a man could expect no mercy from an order devoted to protecting traitors.

News that Stokes had had Husted arrested passed quickly from farm to farm. Castles met and discussed the situation. The time had come at last for the Knights to act. Republicans claimed loudly that the Democrats had tried to murder Stokes at the railway station because he upheld the law. Democratic editors replied that the incident at the station was rowdy fun. Stokes owed Husted some money.²⁴ He had come to the car window to shake hands and explain why he had not paid him. Husted playfully held the proffered hand after the train started. By an unfortunate accident Stokes had stumbled and fallen by the track.

A hearing on the case was set for September 14 before the Justice of the Peace in Jacksonville. Most people forgot about it. Politicians' rows were all too common. But the Knights remembered. They whispered between buggies along the road that Husted would not get a fair trial in a Union town like Jacksonville. The Republicans had won the last city elections.²⁵ A Democrat like Husted would surely be handed over to a military court²⁶ for trial as Vollandigham had been. If a freeman had any rights now was the time to assert them—Gid-up! Dobbin!

Jacksonville, peacefully ignorant of the gathering storm,

²³ *Jacksonville Journal*, Aug. 20, 1863; *Weekly Jacksonville Sentinel*, Aug. 14, 1863.

²⁴ *Daily Illinois State Register*, Sept. 17, 1863.

²⁵ *Jacksonville Journal*, April 9, 16, 1863.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1863.

had pursued its usual way. The summer had been a gay one. In spite of war, political vituperation and rumors of embattled deserters in the woods, times had been good. People complained of high prices and inflation, but they all had money to spend. On the Fourth of July three great celebrations were staged in the city—one by the Irish at the Fair Grounds, another by the Germans at Bacon's Grove, and a third by the "Yankees" at Salem Church. Since that time there had been numerous basket suppers among different groups and an unusually bright theatrical season. Republicans complained about the Democrats' disloyalty. Democrats pointed to Robert Lincoln enjoying luxury in the White Mountains²⁷ while poorer men's sons died in Virginia. Between recriminations both political parties went to Jacksonville's Agricultural Fair and the Philharmonic recital. Then too a circus came to town—George Bailey's. Traitors, Copperheads, Knights of the Golden Circle could not compete with live elephants, a hippopotamus, and girls in dresses to their knees who rode standing up on the bare backs of galloping horses.

Jacksonville's social whirl was not limited to this. Throughout the summer of 1863 Strawn's Hall had maintained its reputation for presenting intellectual entertainment. In the fall, Julian M. Sturtevant,²⁸ president of Illinois College, spoke on the relations of the United States and England. Later in the year, Professor Asa Turner²⁹ lectured against British aristocrats, and a Negro singer, known as the Black Swan sang her people's songs.

Also at Strawn's, in the fall of 1863, P. T. Barnum promised to display Charles Stratton, better known as General Tom Thumb, his wife, and two other midgets. Barnum had discovered Stratton in Connecticut, the third child in a normal sized family. Charles stood just two feet, one inch tall. He was perfectly proportioned. Barnum taught him to stru

²⁷ *Daily Illinois State Register*, Sept. 17, 1863.

²⁸ *Jacksonville Journal*, Sept. 24, 1863.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1863.

across the stage in various disguises. He named Stratton Tom Thumb like the dwarf at King Arthur's court. Then he commissioned him a general to conform to America's extravagant love of titles. Tom Thumb's pert wit and winning personality made him instantly popular. The midget became famous and wealthy. In Europe, Queen Victoria was delighted with him. The Duke of Wellington pronounced his characterization of Napoleon Bonaparte superb. Back in America Barnum arranged to have the tiny fellow and another midget, Mercy Lavinia Warren Bumpus, as week-end guests at his Bridgeport home. The petite people were introduced. Then the great showman discreetly withdrew. Tom Thumb proposed marriage to the little lady and she accepted him. In February, 1863, they were married in New York. The newspapers ignored the Civil War in order to report the ceremony adequately.

No wonder that Jacksonville forgot the Knights of the Golden Circle and other local troubles when the tiny couple visited the town on what might almost be called a wedding tour. The little people drove around the square with a team of ponies and a specially constructed coach tailored to their size. For companions the General and his wife chaperoned two other midgets—a young girl and a bachelor.

Marriage proved to be a turning point in General Tom Thumb's life. In his single days he had been frugal, collecting first mortgages like any sharp Connecticut Yankee. In middle life he changed, joined the Masons, acquired a taste for expensive cigars and much more expensive horses and yachts. Worst of all, he began to grow like Jack's beanstalk. In 1883 he died deeply involved financially. His only child had died in infancy. His tiny widow married a diminutive Italian, Count Primo Magri.

General Tom Thumb had visited Jacksonville before any of these misfortunes and it is not surprising that he stole popular interest from both the Knights of the Golden Circle and

the Union League. After all, not a shot was fired in the so-called Dog Fennel War. No one was hurt and no blood was spilled. The warrant for John Husted was regularly delivered, along with the prisoner, to Justice Pierson in the old courthouse. I. J. Ketchum presented the state's case. Husted was defended by Cyrus Epler, James M. Epler, and Thomas H. Springer—one of them a member of the prorogued legislature and one Husted's reputed companion on the train. Squire Pierson heard the evidence and bound the defendant over to the circuit court under a \$500 bond.³⁰ The embattled farmers were satisfied. Their man had not been delivered to a military court as they had been led to believe. The invaders mounted their horses and rode back to Cass County. To themselves they said that their presence had maintained constitutional government in Morgan County. Members of the Union League went back to their places of business declaring forever after that the Butternuts had been frightened by the reputed superiority of the repeating rifles³¹ believed to be hidden in their cellars. These two points of view will probably never be reconciled. One other fact remains a mystery. How many horsemen really lay hidden in the purple dog fennel along the Mauvaise Terre bottoms waiting for a signal to charge the town?

³⁰ *Daily Illinois State Journal*, Sept. 16, 1863

³¹ *Jacksonville Journal*, Sept. 24, 1863.

THE ILLINOIS BOOKSHELF

MY OWN TIMES, EMBRACING ALSO, THE HISTORY OF MY LIFE. By John Reynolds. [Belleville], Illinois, 1855.

John Reynolds, fourth governor of Illinois, is remembered as the state's chief executive during the Black Hawk War in which Abraham Lincoln served as a private. Reynolds was a Southern gentleman of the old school—tall, imposing, military, classically educated, and eloquent. Like many others of his planter classmates, he was not to the manner born. Instead, he was the son of immigrants who came to Philadelphia from County Monaghan, Ireland, in 1785. When he was six months old his parents moved with him to Knoxville, Tennessee. In 1800, when John, the oldest of six children, was twelve years old, his family came to Illinois, but in 1809 they sent him back to finish his education. By 1812 he had returned to southern Illinois, and in 1813 he enlisted as a private in a company of rangers. Black Hawk and his British band of savages threatened the settlements at that time. Reynolds thus knew Indians at first hand. When he was Governor twenty years later, he had no delusions about them. He also showed no animus. In his autobiography, *My Own Times*—a volume which should be on every Illinois bookshelf—Reynolds says:

Macuta Makicatah is the Indian name for Black Hawk. This warrior was born in the Sac Village in the year 1767, and was an Indian of some considerable talents and shrewdness. I have met him in council and have heard him speak; and I have a slight personal knowledge of his character, besides what his actions would afford me. When I first saw him in council, at Rock Island, in 1831, he appeared "stricken in years"—being then 64 years old—and he deported himself in that demure, grave, and formal manner, incident to almost all Indians. He seemed to possess a mind of more than ordinary strength, but slow and plodding in its operations. He appeared to me to possess not such genius, or talents, that would enable him to take the lead in a great emergency, and conduct a great enterprise to a successful conclusion. He might have had the talents to conduct a small marauding party with success; but he possessed not such intellect as could combine together great discordant elements into harmonious operation. His mind sunk low, in comparison with the great Indian characters, such as Pontiac, Brant, Tecumseh, and such illustrious men. His own townsman, and rival, Keokuk, possessed, in my judgment, more intellect than his rival, Black Hawk. Keokuk was gifted with an extraordinary strength of mind. Black Hawk, in 1831, seemed to be labor-

ing under a weighty melancholy, and depression of spirits. The army of mounted volunteers, twelve or fifteen hundred strong, panting for Indian blood, right or wrong, had, a day or two before, driven him and his band off from the east side of the river, which circumstance had, I thought, given him sad and melancholy impressions at the time. . . .

It is astonishing, the war spirit the western people possess. As soon as I decided to march against the Indians at Rock Island, the whole country, throughout the north-west of the State, resounded with the war clamor. Everything was in a bustle, and uproar. It was then eighteen or twenty years since the war with Great Britain, and these same Indians; and the old citizens enflamed the young men to appear in the tented field against the old enemy.

I knew that it was absolutely necessary to appear at the scene of action with all possible speed, and therefore I appointed a *rendezvous* of the troops at Beardstown, on the Illinois River, on the 10th of June [1831]. This gave the troops only a few days to volunteer, prepare for the service, and march from this county—St. Clair—to Beardstown, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, or more. In this time my orders had to be distributed to the various counties nearest the scene of action. The militia to meet, organize, and march to Beardstown, in fourteen or fifteen days. This required the greatest exertion; but I was well acquainted with the people, and knew, I thought, the manner in which to approach them. If I made the call on the volunteers, and none turned out, I was a disgraced Governor. . . .

When a call is made on the militia the number that will volunteer cannot be exactly ascertained before they meet at the place of rendezvous. In this call on the militia, more than double the number that was called for—seven hundred—volunteered. It was the most busy time in the year, with the farmers, yet hundreds of them unhitched their horses from the plow, left their cornfields, and appeared in the army. . . .

Black Hawk and his band were not in fear of the regular soldiers. The regular army could not move with celerity, so as to strike terror into the hearts of the Indians. Moreover, the Indians dreaded the backwoods white men. They knew the volunteers were their natural enemies, and would destroy them on all occasions.

This class of troops raised, and marched to Rock Island with extraordinary celerity, and in such an imposing force that it struck terror into the hearts of the Indians.

I knew at the time I made the first call on the militia, and time has since confirmed it, that many of the Indians for hundreds of miles around the frontiers were hostile to the United States, and had promised Black Hawk succour, and would have joined him had not the extraordinarily quick and strong movement of the Illinois volunteers prevented it. It is probable that the determined and hasty volunteering of the Illinois troops saved the government from a destructive Indian war all around the north-west frontiers. . . .

The Black Hawk War proper started a year later. Governor Reynolds was encamped with the troops at Dixon when Major Stillman suffered his

notorious defeat. In his autobiography, Reynolds gives the following account of that disgraceful episode:

On the 13th of May [1832], in the morning, Major Stillman marched out from Dixon with military display. He had with him about two hundred and seventy-five men, with the necessary equipments. . . .

About one o'clock of the night of the 15th of May the stragglers and soldiers of Major Stillman, who had escaped from the battle, reached my tent at Dixon, and narrated such horrid and tragical stories of the disaster with the Indians, that it was truly alarming and shocking. The soldiers, after the retreat, arrived at Dixon in utter confusion, without the least order or discipline, and each one told his story according to his own terrified imagination. According as the tales of woe and horror were told, they impressed the army at Dixon with the confused idea of much bloodshed and carnage. Those narrating the disaster generally believed and stated they were about all that had escaped.—Often while one was telling of the destruction of his comrade, the person himself would appear and contradict the story of his death. Such confusive and contradictory statements were at first told, that no one knew what to believe. I recollect that my first impression was that most of the battalion were destroyed; but the stragglers kept coming in until we saw that the affair was not so bad as we had expected it to be at first.

In the morning the troops who were in the battle were paraded, and it appeared that fifty-two were absent; and we presumed that number had been killed. This figure got into the papers from the morning's report, and circulated throughout the United States.

Major Stillman had marched his battalion twenty-five miles up Rock river, in a wrong direction from my order, and was about sunset the second day, (the 14th of May, 1832,) preparing to camp within a few miles of the main lodgment of Black Hawk, and a portion of his band. During the preparations to camp the troops were in much confusion and disorder. The Major had omitted to have either spies or sentinels out at this important crisis. In this confused state of the troops, some unsaddling their horses, others making fires, some fixing tent poles, and all in a state of easy carelessness and security; three Indians, unarmed, with a white flag, made their appearance near the encampment. These Indians gave themselves up, and were taken into custody, as hostages, by order of the officers. Not many, or perhaps any of the Americans understood the Indian language sufficiently to hold a conversation with them; but it would seem, the circumstances of the case were sufficiently expressive to make all understand the motives of the prisoners. Soon after the three unarmed Indians were taken into custody, six armed Indians appeared on horseback on a hill three-fourths of a mile from the encampment. Without any orders, a few soldiers and some officers commenced an irregular chase of the Indians, on horseback, and pursued them for four or five miles. During this race in the prairie, a great portion of the troops mounted their horses and joined, without orders, in the disorderly chase of the Indians.—The whites became engaged in the pursuit, and having the best horses, overtook two Indians and killed them. Major Hackleton, of Fulton coun-

ty, was dismounted, and had a personal combat with an Indian, also dismounted. By assistance from the whites, the Major killed his tawny antagonist. In this irregular running conflict three Indians were killed, without any loss of the whites. . . .

Black Hawk took a prudent and wise stand, concealed behind some woods, (then nearly dark,) so that the straggling and unmanageable forces of Major Stillman approached near him.

It was a crisis with the Indians—they fought in defence of all they held the most sacred on earth, and they performed their operations under the eye of an experienced warrior, Black Hawk himself.

This aged warrior and his band (all he could muster at the moment,) marched out from his concealment, and fell in with fury and havoc on the disorderly troops of Stillman, who were scattered for miles over the prairie. Black Hawk turned the tide of war, and chased the whites with great fury.

The camp of Black Hawk was five or six miles from the encampment of Major Stillman, and the Indians forced the whites back to the white camp with great speed, and killed in the chase one white man.

By the time the volunteers reached Stillman's camp it was quite dark and the troops at the camp, hearing the yelling, terrible sounds of the horses' feet, and shooting, supposed all the warriors of the whole Black Hawk band were on them like an avalanche. This produced a *general panic* and indifference of the exertions of the officers and the volunteers, although placed in battle array at the camp, fled with their comrades whom Black Hawk was chasing.

A small muddy creek flowed near the camp of Stillman, and the crossing of it was difficult for both whites and Indians. Horses mired in it, and some white men were killed in it. This creek has been baptised with the name of Stillman's Run, which it retains to this day. After the troops crossed the creek, the officers made an effort to rally them, but to no purpose. A general and furious retreat was commenced, each one seeking his own safety according to his own discretion. It was in this confused and precipitated flight, where most of the volunteers, who were killed, closed their eyes forever. One case in particular, amongst many others, excited much sympathy and deep feeling: Captain Adams was found dead with two Indians, also dead, near him. This bloody personal combat was off from the general route, a short distance up the creek: the evidence was seen the next day by many, of the most shocking fight between three men, and all three lay dead within a few feet of each other. No one remained alive to tell the story of the battle. They fought with every class of weapon in their possession; and the guns shivered, and the mortal wounds inflicted, proved that all were used in this deadly conflict. The earth was soft in the spring, and the evidence next day remained on it of the utmost exertions of human power in this battle, where two contended against one. The wounds were deep and numerous on the three dead bodies, made by rifle balls, spears, tomahawks, and butcher knives. The Indians did not scalp Captain Adams, giving him the honor of a great brave.

The Indians chased the whites twelve or fifteen miles, and the horses of the volunteers being the fleetest, saved the corps.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the number of Indians under Black Hawk that were engaged in the battle. Black Hawk in his book says he had only forty in all, and judging from all I can discover in the premises, believe the number of warriors were between fifty and sixty—some of the volunteers engaged in the scene supposed them to be several hundred, and some presumed them to be all of Black Hawk's warriors, which would swell them up to four or five hundred. . . .

Major Hackleton and some others *on foot* escaped, and reached the army at Dixon in safety. It was ascertained the next day after the battle, that only eleven white men were killed, instead of the number first reported to have been slain, which greatly quieted the public mind. About eight Indians were killed in all. . . .

The Indians destroyed all the wagons and property, which the volunteers abandoned in their camps. I saw, the next day after the battle, the fragments of cut and burned wagons, and other articles, that showed the evidence of savage warfare. Empty kegs were also left, that had contained, as the Indians call it, "fire-water." This was a partial cause of the disasters, it was supposed at the time.

John Reynolds had served as Associate Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court and was twice elected to the legislature before he became Governor. As a popular political campaigner he was outstanding. The state's population was increasing by leaps and bounds. It grew almost three hundred percent between 1830 and 1840. Along the rivers and on the prairies new villages appeared like mushrooms. The newcomers were of all types, but buckwoodsmen and rivermen flavored the whole. Reynolds was at his best on horseback, seeking their votes. He had inherited a gift for Irish banter, liked to talk the frontier lingo, and could successfully conceal the evidence of his "book larnin'." The people sent him four times to Congress in addition to his four terms in the legislature. In *My Own Times*, Reynolds devotes many pages to the pioneers. The following descriptions of their practical jokes, their sense of humor, and their clothes are typical:

Sometimes a Kentucky boatman appeared at these frolics. Perhaps he had been one of those celebrated characters known on the western rivers, as "half horse, half aligator, and tipped with the snapping-turtle." The story from him will be presented.

He said he landed his boat on a dark night at Louisville, and back to the town, the negroes had a corn shucking. Many darkies were present, and the corn heap was divided. Captains of the blacks were selected, and the hands divided. Rails were put across the corn pile for a division, and each party had his half of the pile to husk. A race was commenced in this manner, that became frequently very exciting with the blacks, and often with the whites also under this system.

The boatmen wanted a frolic, and filled their hunting-shirts, when they stood around them, with round stones, picked up at the edge of the Ohio river. In the dark the boatmen slipped up near the darkies, who were sing-

ing and shucking the corn, and would throw a rock at the black crowd, when the darkies could not see the rock, or whence it came. Often the blood came trinkling from the faces of the Africans, and they would presume it was an ear of corn thrown by the opposite contending party. At the same time, another boatman would throw another rock at the other party. The blacks would swear at each other, and make tremendous threats. Before they closed their threats, another rock from a boatman would strike another ducky; so that in a short time the whole negro assembly were in a general battle royal, and the boatmen hid enjoying the sport. The overseers, and other whites present, were often troubled much to quiet these negro battles. . . .

Another trick was practiced on some persons at another backwoods frolic, which caused some bruised feet.

It was a fashion at these meetings, and under the influence of liquor, to kick one anothers' hats. These hats were generally wool, and frequently worn for years; so that they were not much injured by the operation. [A prankster] saw some pots in the shade of the house, and put hats over them. Then he got a few of those loving the sport of kicking, to move their play in the neighborhood of the covered pots. They kicked the hats on the pots, to the great injury of their toes. This trick made great merriment.

The common dress of the American pioneer was very similar.

Home made wool hats were the common wear. Fur hats were not common, and scarcely a boot was seen. The covering of the feet in the winter was mostly moccasins made of deer skin, and shoe packs of tanned leather. Some wore shoes, but not common in very early times. In the summer, the greater portion of the young people, male and female, and many of the old, went barefooted. The substantial and universal out side wear was the blue linsey hunting shirt. This is an excellent garment, and I have never felt so happy and healthy, since I laid it off. It is made with wide sleeves, open before, with ample size, so as to envelope the body with its folds, almost twice around. Sometimes it has a large cape, which answers well to save the shoulders from the rain. A belt is mostly used to keep the garment close and neat around the person, and nevertheless there is nothing tight in it to hamper the body. It is often fringed, and at times the fringe is composed of red, and other gay colors. The belt frequently is sewed to the hunting-shirt. At times, a belt of leather with a buckle sewed to one end is used. Many pioneers wore the white blanket coats in the winter. They are, as well as the hunting-shirt, an excellent garment. They are made loose, and a cap or a cape to turn over the head in extreme cold weather. I have worn them almost every winter, when was young. The vest was mostly made of striped linsey. The colors were made often with alum, copperas, and madder, boiled with the bark of trees, in such manner and proportions as the old ladies prescribed. The shirts worn by the Americans were generally home made of flax and cotton material. Some voyagers and hunters among the Americans wore calico and checked shirts: but not common. The flax and cotton were raised at home, and manufactured into shirts. Looms and flax breaks were at that day quite common, and cotton gins made of wooden rollers.

In 1817 John Reynolds married a French Creole, Madame Catherine Dubuque) LaCroix Manegle—a daughter of the man for whom Dubuque, Iowa, was named. She died two years after the Black Hawk War. He married again in 1836. Twenty years later, in an autobiographical sketch, Reynolds said that his first wife was "beautiful" and that his second was "amiable and accomplished." From the time of his governorship to his death he lived in a handsome residence in Belleville. On the premises he built a small two-room brick house for a law office. In 1848 he was an unsuccessful candidate in the election for the United States Senate. Younger men with fresher ideas were supplanting the rural orators.

Reynolds then decided to turn his attention to literature. His first venture was *The Pioneer History of Illinois*, published in Belleville in 1852.¹ He followed this with a work of fiction, *The Life and Adventures of John Kelly*, but he was disappointed in its sales and next tried a travel narrative. *Sketches of the Country, on the Northern Route from Belleville, Illinois, to the City of New York, and Back by the Ohio Valley; Together with a Glance at the Crystal Palace* appeared in 1854. He converted the brick law office on his premises into a printing shop, bought a press and a case of type. From his establishment he published in 1855 the squat 600-page book, *My Own Times*.²

Reynolds had given the manuscript of this volume to two friends, John Mason Peck and John Russell, for revision. The work of Peck, the founder of Shurtleff College, was reviewed in the March, 1946, "Bookshelf" of this *Journal*. Russell had been a professor in Peck's school, but at the time Reynolds gave him his manuscript he was devoting his time to writing. An interesting letter in the Illinois State Historical Library from Reynolds to Russell complains that the "Professor" made the narrative too "eloquent." The ex-Governor had found his friend Peck a more sympathetic critic who insisted that the entire book should be "John Reynolds"—"lock, stock and barrel."

During the Mormon troubles Reynolds had been serving in Congress. He introduced Prophet Joseph Smith to President Van Buren. Here is a quotation from one of his chapters on the Latter-Day Saints:

At Nauvoo and vicinity the Mormons assembled in great numbers from all parts of the Union, and from Europe also. I presume at the highest figure they might be set down at fifteen thousand souls in the city and immediate neighborhood, and were a working, industrious people.

Party politics raged in Illinois with a bitter rancor, so that every machinery was put in operation to obtain the victory. The Whigs and Democrats were pretty equally divided, and it was supposed that the

¹ A second edition was issued by the Fergus Printing Co. in 1887.

² Reissued by the Chicago Historical Society in 1879.

Mormons could turn the scale on either side where they cast their votes.

This condition of the country gave them great importance, and was one cause of their downfall.

In December, 1839, the Prophet, Joseph Smith, appeared at Washington City and presented his claim to Congress for relief for the losses he and the Mormons sustained in Missouri at the City of Far West.

When the prophet reached the City of Washington, he desired to be presented to President Van Buren. . . .

It fell to my lot to introduce him to the President, and one morning Smith, the prophet, and I called at the White House to see the Chief Magistrate. When we were about to enter the apartment of Mr. Van Buren, the prophet asked me to introduce him as a "Latter Day Saint." It was so unexpected and so strange to me, the "Latter Day Saints," that I could scarcely believe he would urge such nonsense on this occasion to the President. But he repeated the request, when I asked him if I understood him. I introduced him as a "Latter Day Saint," which made the President smile.

Smith, the prophet, remained in Washington a great part of the winter, and preached often in the city. I became well acquainted with him. He was a person rather larger than ordinary statue, well proportioned, and would weigh, I presume, about one hundred and eighty pounds. He was rather fleshy, but was in his appearance amiable and benevolent. He did not appear to possess any harshness or barbarity in his composition, nor did he appear to possess that great talent and boundless mind that would enable him to accomplish the wonders he performed.

His claim for damages done to the Mormons in Missouri, was submitted to the Senate, and both the Senators of Missouri, Messrs. Benton and Lynn, attacked his petition with such force and violence that it could obtain scarcely a decent burial. . . .

It was important to the Mormons to obtain charters from the General Assembly of Illinois in 1840 and 1841, and the struggle commenced in the legislature, which party, the Whigs or Democrats, could and would do the most for the Mormons to secure their votes. . . .

A charter was granted the city of Nauvoo, that gave them power beyond the constitution and laws of the State, and which was at last the main element in their downfall. Another charter was granted, organizing the "Nauvoo Legion." This act also gave this military band too much power. Another charter was granted to incorporate the "Nauvoo House," and in it the prophet and his heirs were to have a residence forever. The charter for city government gave power to pass ordinances contrary to the laws of the State, and even the constitution. This provided for rule and ruin. . . .

In the summer of 1844, a violent schism and dispute arose among the "Latter Day Saints" themselves, and a paper was established by Wilson, his brother,³ and some eight other Mormons. The reason of the disturbance was the iniquity of the other prophet, and the church establishing the system of polygamy, or the spiritual wife system. The schismatic members established a press to expose the evil doings and corruption of

³ Wilson and William Law.

the prophet and other members. It is said the prophet laid claim to Wilson's wife, who was a beautiful woman. One paper was issued and the press was destroyed, by order of the common council of Nauvoo, before the second paper was issued.⁴

Wilson made complaint to the civil authorities of the county of Hancock, and had a warrant issued for the arrest of all the rioters. The citizens throughout the county of Hancock and the surrounding counties were extremely hostile to the Mormons, and wished to have them expelled from the country, as they had been from Missouri. Wilson was, on this account, aided by the people. The constable who had charge of the warrant reported a *falsehood*, that he could not arrest the Mayor and Common Council. This was a conspiracy to excite the people against the Mormons, and to collect a vast number to destroy the new sect.

On the 17th of June, 1844, a committee from Hancock county waited on the Governor of the State—his excellency, Thomas Ford, and requested a military force to execute the laws, when, in fact, no resistance was made to their execution.

The Governor deemed it his duty to appear at the scene of action, and judge for himself. When he reached the scene, under a pledge of the Governor, that the rioter[s] would be protected and tried according to law, Mayor Joseph Smith, his brother Hiram, and the council surrendered themselves to the officers and were marched eighteen miles from Nauvoo, to Carthage, the county seat of Hancock county, for trial. Most of the party were admitted to bail, but warrants were issued for Joseph and Hiram Smith, for treason, and those two were confined in the Jail of Hancock county. The Governor put a guard around the prison, but by connivance, and without his knowledge, a party of disguised men, in the absence of the Governor, inhumanly murdered the two Smiths in jail. No murder was ever committed under more dastardly and atrocious circumstances than this. . . .

At various periods in the year 1845, and the beginning of 1856 [1846], a civil war was at the point of breaking out, and drenching the country in blood; but the matter was agreed on by the twelve apostles of the Mormon church, and the delegates of eight of the adjoining counties, that the Mormons would leave the State in the spring of 1846, and in consideration thereof, all arrests and legal process should be abandoned. The leaders of the Mormon church found it true that they could not remain in the State, and agreed to leave it. The Governor was privy to the agreement, and encouraged it for the sake of peace and harmony in the State.

During the winter the greatest activity was exerted to prepare for the migration to the Salt Lake in the Rocky Mountains. Twelve thousand wagons, and other moveable articles in proportion were made during the winter previous to their departure in the spring of 1846.

I visited Nauvoo in the spring of 1846, and witnessed much distress. The women and children were left behind the masses of the Mormons, and many of them were visited with sickness. The whole earth for a large space was covered with Mormon wagons starting to the Salt Lake.

⁴ A copy of this rare newspaper is in the Illinois State Historical Library.

I was in the Mormon Temple at Nauvoo and examined it. It was a large and splendid edifice, built on the Egyptian style of architecture, and its grandeur and magnificence truly astonished me. It was erected on the top of the Mississippi bluff, which gave it a prospect that reached as far as the eye could extend over the country and up and down the river. The most singular appendage of this splendid edifice was the font in which the immersion of the saints was practiced. It was circular, being about fifteen feet in diameter, and about eight in depth. It was composed, if my memory serves me right, of marble, and the fabric rested some six or eight feet from the floor, on the backs of twelve oxen.—The heads of the cattle were turned out and the font resting on their backs. The head, horns and the whole front of the oxen were beautifully carved in just and elegant proportions of the bovinian animal. The oxen were carved, I presume, of wood and were painted as white as snow. Their horns were beautifully proportioned. Rooms were prepared adjoining the font in which to dress and undress, preparatory to immersion, and arrangements were made to heat the rooms and the water in the baptismal font.

The complaints of the citizens against the Mormons were numerous and perhaps many of them true. Among others were the following: That the "Latter Day Saints" committed larcenies on the citizens, and harbored bad men—that the Mormons had such power in the county they could not be punished for any crime; that they governed the county elections, and that the Mormons considered the government in the city of Nauvoo above the State authorities, and that crimes and polygamy were practiced amongst themselves.

When the charge of polygamy was first made against them the public at a distance from Nauvoo could not believe that it was possible that such crime was practiced *openly* by the society, but the subsequent history of the Mormons leaves no doubt on the subject that the crime is practiced openly among them.

Ex-Governor Reynolds knew little about the complexities of the book trade. *My Own Times* did not sell. Reynolds packed his entire edition in shoe boxes and went with them to Chicago. In the autumn of 1855 D. B. Cooke, leading bookseller in the city, saw a dray load of these volumes back up to the curb before his store. A tall, gaunt man alighted from the dray and strode into the store. With considerable profanity he introduced himself as ex-Governor John Reynolds, author. The book had not sold, he said. It must sell.

Cooke took the cargo, but a fire three years later consumed most of it. The great fire in 1871 destroyed more of the books. In 1879 the Chicago Historical Society published a new edition, but by this time the Old Ranger, as Reynolds liked to call himself, had passed on to the land of no returning.

Already a trifle dated when he finished *My Own Times*, the approach of the Civil War had disclosed Reynolds to be a peculiar fish out of the river-civilization of his youth. He was seventy-two in 1860. In 1857 he

had written a little book entitled *The School Advocate*. Today it is a valuable collectors' item. During the depression of 1932, a copy sold for \$120. In 1858 Reynolds wrote a short life of John Mason Peck—the critic who liked his style. The election of 1860 brought out a more notorious publication, *"The Balm of Gilead:" An Inquiry into the Right of American Slavery*.

The Old Ranger, ever since his patrolling duties in the War of 1812, had no sympathy with abolition or with the new political party that had nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. Back in the early days he had tried to make Illinois a slave state. Since his school days in Tennessee his sympathies had been with people from the South. Above all he was a Jackson Democrat, and Old Hickory had said, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved!" Now the old white-haired ex-Governor fired from his own press a last volley at the advancing new order. "The slaves cannot be banished from the Union," he said. "They cannot be emancipated, and the Union exist. What is the remedy? The answer is from Heaven, recorded in every good man's heart—No Disunion—No emancipation of the Slaves."

The Old Ranger died in his fine home at Belleville on May 8, 1865. Emancipation had come without disunion, but it had cost a Civil War.

HISTORICAL NOTES

A NEW LETTER ABOUT LINCOLN

The following letter concerning Abraham Lincoln has apparently never been published before. The writer, R. R. Hitt, had been Lincoln's shorthand reporter during the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates. He addressed the letter to Henry Binmore, one of the reporters for Stephen A. Douglas. The two men seem to have been on the best terms of friendship as this letter will show. On the day it was written, the Democrats were convened in Charleston, South Carolina, quarreling over the slavery planks in their platform. Douglas had not yet been suggested for nomination. The Republican convention that nominated Lincoln in Chicago was not due to begin for over two weeks.

Hitt looked forward to the contest with sporting good nature. He seemed confident of Lincoln's ultimate victory and joshed his rival, "i the old nags are brought out again, what a glorious race we shall have."

MICHIGAN CITY, IND.
APRIL 30, 1860.

DEAR OLD BOY:

I didn't write immediately in response to your most welcome note because I intended to go down forthwith & answer in propria persona. This notion I entertained, while I was compelled to put it off from day to day until last evening I actually started for Cincinnati & Binmore when we would talk over past & coming battles, yes, whole campaign at our amplest leisure.

But I find here that I shall not be able to go straight through to-day to Cin. I shall go to Newcastle this afternoon—thence, after a short stay to Indianapolis, & thence to find you at the Queen City. So look out for me. As the Irishman said, "You may expect to be surprised by me."

I shall stay with you in Cin. one or two days, (I have a sweet little aunty there) & hope to be there by Thursday.

I will only say now that I was overjoyed by your consent to go in & at the prospect of working in harness with you again. I have made an arrangement with the P. & T.¹ at \$4 a column & there will be plenty to do. I have also a half born negotiation with the Times, but they are lying in abeyance until the nomination, & will not show a very vigorous fight if Douglas is shelved.

Should Stephen be nominated it will go far to help Lincoln's chances & if the old nags are brought out again, what a glorious race we shall have through the "Prairie State."

¹ *Chicago Press and Tribune.*

But all this will be decided before you read this & conjectures or warm anticipations now will go down like cold soup after dinner, so I'll say with Othello "enough of that."

Goodbye for today

Yours as ever & forever

R. R. HITT

The above letter is owned by Mr. C. R. Withe of Peoria. It came to Mr. Withe, through his mother, Mary A. Withe, who was Binmore's daughter.

ERNEST E. EAST.

PEORIA, ILL.

ALONG THE SALT FORK RIVER

When Champaign County was created from a part of Vermilion County in 1833, its population was probably less than 1,000—principally along the Salt Fork in the eastern part. In 1835, the state census showed a population of 1,045 for Champaign County. By 1850 there were nearly 3,000 inhabitants within its borders, and by 1860 over 14,000. Settlers from New England, New York, the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, and Indiana flocked into the Illinois Country, bringing their families and their household treasures by ox-cart, prairie schooner, packsaddle, and boats down the waterways.

Of the early settlers in the county, only a very few were born in this state. There was the Massachusetts Colony around Philo; a Kentucky Colony near Pancake Point at what is now Mahomet; a larger Kentucky Colony near Rantoul; a German Colony south of Sidney; and another on the Dutch Flats east of Thomasboro. The largest one of all was the Ohio Colony. Settlers in this group were located on 3,000 acres of land south-east of Rantoul about the time the Illinois Central Railroad was built through the county.

Three early settlements around which life centered for many years were: (1) Old Homer on the Salt Fork; (2) the Big Grove, in Urbana Township; and (3) Newcom's Ford, north of Mahomet, in a bend of the Sangamon River. The old Fort Clark Road and an Indian trail led through these settlements toward the northwest, and on to Fort Crèvecoeur, near the Peoria of today.

There was Henry Sadorus, born in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, who settled 1,000 acres of land at what he called Sadorus Grove, in 1824. He hired a private tutor for his boys and built his own schoolhouse. Tradition says that he once heard of a settler who pitched his tent eighteen miles below him on the Kaskaskia River, so he took his boys and went out to call on the man one morning before breakfast. He asked the

settler why he had so insolently crowded into the Sadorus backyard without any permission! However, he sold him a large section of land before returning home. Such was pioneer resourcefulness!

Ethan Newcom, of Kentucky, built a tavern at his place, called Newcom's Ford, and styled it "House of Entertainment." It became a famous stopping place on the old Fort Clark Road. He had some interesting advertising rates posted in a prominent place: 18½c per meal; 50c for man and beast over night, horse feed extra; ½ pint whiskey, 6¼c; ½ pint wine, 18½c; ½ pint gin, 12½c. He was a great bee tree hunter, and boasted that he found a bee tree before breakfast the next day after arriving from Kentucky. He used to make 2,000 pounds of maple sugar and a barrel of maple syrup every spring.

Asahel Bruer taught one of the earliest schools in the Big Grove in 1828—a log cabin with puncheon seats and greased paper windows. Once when he was locked out he climbed onto the roof, covered the chimney with a board, and smoked out his scholars, who then opened the door.

Thomas R. Leal was county superintendent of schools from 1857 to 1873. When he began his work there were but forty-six schoolhouses in the county, twenty-seven of which were still made of logs. When he retired there were over two hundred, all modern buildings.

One learns much about early graveyards by searching for unusual tombstone inscriptions. Some of these burial places are easily accessible from highway and country lane, and are kept in good condition. Many others, utterly abandoned to the elements on lonely hillsides, are overgrown with brambles and knee-high weeds. Nothing presents a more pitiful appearance than an old, abandoned graveyard on a bleak November day, with its drooping stones too dejected to stand alone.

There are about a hundred and forty graveyards and cemeteries in Champaign County. This includes family burial grounds on farms, visible from cabin doors in days of yore. It was an old custom to bury the departed near by, just as George Washington's grave was placed within sight of the window of his widow's bedroom at Mount Vernon.

The collector of epitaphs can find rare specimens in the graveyard throughout the county. Sam Brumley was buried in the old Brumley graveyard northeast of Urbana in 1850. This abandoned graveyard is in an unfenced cornfield, with four lonely pine trees to keep guard. Sam's stone leans against one of these trees, and bears this priceless verse, still easily legible:

My old companion fare ye well
I will not go with thee to hell
I go with Jesus Christ to dwell
So let me go fare ye well.

A strange burial occurred at Hickory Grove in March, 1831. Nicholas Yount's mother had died. The ground was so wet it was difficult to find a place to dig the grave. Finally a spot was found on a hill, the grave was dug, and the body had to be lowered hastily before too much water rose. Neighbors officiated at this funeral. There was no time to secure a preacher.

In the early days, settlers suffered from much sickness. M. D. Coffeen and Samuel Grovendyke at Old Homer did a thriving business in quinine, liver pills, and whisky, the latter said to be good for the ague. Strangely enough, almost everybody had the ague! When all drugs failed, the firm of Coffeen & Grovendyke furnished coffins for their patients at \$3.00 to \$5.00 each. The firm's claims against estates, poorly written and miserably spelled, form fascinating reading in the very earliest record books of the county. Thomas Lindsey, of Urbana, and the Harvey brothers, Moses and William, worked all winter making furniture and coffins, and peddled them throughout the county in the summer. The Harveys agreed to dig graves free for anyone buying one of their coffins. When Sam Brumley, mentioned before, died, Lindsey covered his coffin with white velvet, and charged \$12 for it. Sam's administrator objected to such needless extravagance.

Dr. John G. Saddler, in Big Grove, was a specialist in treating ague, chills and fever, bowel complaint, and all forms of the miasmatic fevers, prevalent in the swampy county. He used to say that the ague would shake a man out of his boots, if he had any. Dr. Saddler kept busy. The boys who herded cattle on the Dutch Flats east of Thomasboro were frequently treated by him. No wonder! They were in the habit of quenching their thirst by sucking water through straws, from holes made by the feet of the cattle. Another early-day doctor was John W. Scroggs, of Urbana. He was said to have taken this slogan—"No cure, no pay." Practicing medicine was an informal profession. Dr. Hartwell C. Howard, of West Urbana, was once on his way to Chicago on the "spanking" new Illinois Central Railroad. The train obligingly stopped at Rantoul to wait for him while he made a professional call in the town. Dr. R. W. Shoemaker, of West Urbana, conducted a private school in his office near the Illinois Central tracks; when he was called out to visit the sick, his capable wife taught for him.

There were old-fashioned hallelujah camp meetings as early as 1840 at Haptonstall's mill, near Urbana. At one of these, Jake Heater was forced, much against his will, to offer his first prayer. With the greatest reluctance, since prayer was absolutely foreign to his nature, and the entire community knew it only too well, he finally sank to his knees and

cried out in a tremendous voice, urging God to "rim-rack and center-shake the devil's kingdom."

Many quaint characters have trekked up and down the Salt Fork. Samuel Mapes, of St. Joseph, Illinois, preached in this area in 1835, sometimes walking forty miles to speak at a given point. Ordinarily he rode a steer, ornamented with a big bell. He rode barefoot, preached barefoot, and always carried his gun into the meetinghouse. He tied his steer to a sapling in the woods, where he pawed and bellowed while his master did the same inside.

A good story is told about the Rev. William I. ("Uncle Billy") Peters, also of St. Joseph. He was preaching along the Salt Fork in 1827. Uncle Billy had a habit of buying whisky by the barrel, down on the Wabash River, at twenty cents a gallon; he then brought it home and re-tailed it to his parishioners and others at fifty cents a gallon. The settlers said that it was their duty to buy it from "Uncle Billy," for whisky there must be, and gospel there must be. Besides, it was good stuff, and the money he made helped convert sinners.

The Rev. Gerard W. Riley, a sturdy soul from Ohio, was another one of the early preachers. He was ordained on August 13, 1838, by the Bloomfield Church, and remained there twelve years. In a memorandum he says that he "traveled an average of 1,200 miles per year, and preached 200 sermons per year." He built nine churches. It is said that his annual salary was \$75 and that he gave \$25 of it to charity.

Moses P. Snelling organized the Old Goose Pond Church (Congregational), in his home in West Urbana. It stood near what is now the intersection of Second Street and University Avenue, on swampy ground where wild geese landed. Tradition has it that Abraham Lincoln once spoke there. Captain A. O. Howell, who organized a Sunday school at this church, described himself as follows: "I am an abolitionist, a prohibitionist, and I am anti-Mason."

In 1850, the Rev. Arthur Bradshaw paid the county \$2.50 for a lot on which he planned to build a Methodist Episcopal church. He was later sued for the money. Three years passed before the church was finished. The women of the congregation whitewashed it on the outside, using salt in the mixture. Loose cattle, roaming at will through the town, licked off the whitewash as far up as they could reach; during church services, small boys were assigned to whip the cattle away because of the noise they made at their licking.

The most famous tavern in the county in the early days was one run by Joseph Kelley, four miles south of the present town of St. Joseph. Located on the Salt Fork River, probably on one of the Argo farms, it was

a landmark on the old Fort Clark Road across the county toward what is now Peoria. It was a four-room affair of split logs. Abraham Lincoln is said to have stopped there. It not only served those on the Fort Clark Road, but it was also on the old state road from Danville to Quincy, and many emigrants to the West patronized it.

A whole book might be written about the Kickapoo and Potawatomi Indian tribes who camped in large numbers all over Champaign County, especially along the Salt Fork and other waterways. Many Indians lived along the Boneyard Creek, which runs through the two towns of Urbana and Champaign. Elias Stamey was one of a group delegated to make them "puck-a-chee"—meaning to "clear out." This was after they had belted all the sugar maples one spring. They gathered up ponies, dogs, squaws, tents, and papooses, and never returned. When Robert Peters settled in Hickory Grove at St. Joseph in 1830, an Indian tribe, nine hundred strong, camped near his cabin, and only his fierce dogs kept them from his door.

Countless annoyances, besides the Indians, wore the very hearts out of the stoutest settlers. Milton Babb, of Old Homer, hired a man with a gun to keep the deer from his cornfields. Deer in great droves, a hundred at a time, passed in single file by cabin doors. Prairie wolves abounded and made sheep raising difficult. Lynxes and catamounts lurked in the dark forests.

This story would not be complete without another reference to Abraham Lincoln, who began riding through Champaign County soon after it was added to the Eighth Judicial Circuit. In 1845 he and Asahel Gridley were appointed by Judge Samuel H. Treat to defend William Weaver, of Urbana, who had shot and killed David Hiltibran. This was the first murder in the county for which there was a trial and conviction. Lincoln and Gridley lost the case, but Weaver escaped from the flimsy jail a few days before the day of execution. He was never recaptured. It was rumored that he went to Wisconsin, changed his name, and thereafter led an exemplary life.

Amusing as many of these stories of the pioneers may be to later generations, the old-timers also had a solemn, heroic side. Their toil and vision has made the modern county what it is.

THE ILLINOIS SCRAPBOOK

BISHOP CHASE'S POWERFUL PERSONALITY

There was a majesty of manner about Bishop Chase which enabled him to do what it would be improper and unsafe for ordinary men to attempt. Sometimes, when he happened to be on board of a large steamboat, crowded with passengers, who rushed greedily to the table at the first sound of the bell, to struggle for their places, in the greatest confusion, the good man would take his station at the head, and awing them all into silence by a look, he would reverently ask a blessing. On a certain occasion he was present in the chancel in some western church, when several thoughtless persons who had stayed as long as they wished, rose up to go out. Bishop Chase turned to them and said, with a look and an emphasis which made them take their seats and keep them, too: "If you thus interrupt public worship by going out, I will not give you the greater benediction!"

They had no idea what this was, but they learned, at least, that it was a sin and a shame to be disturbing a congregation as they had been wont to do. . . .

The next scene, which occurred on a steamboat, we give in the Bishop's words: "We had succeeded not only in the custom of asking a blessing at our meals, but in having prayers at night on board the steamer. While we were engaged in this latter duty, and singing a hymn, and reading the holy Scriptures, there arose some disturbance at the forward part of the cabin, among the card-players and whiskey-drinkers. The complaint was that the lamp, having a glass shade, was taken from them, brought aft and placed upon the table where evening worship was wont to be performed. The bar-keeper was the loudest among the malcontents, and summoning his whole force of impudent effrontery, came and snatched away the lamp and carried it off in triumph. Being left in darkness, we should have been much at a loss, had not the prayers and collects of the Church been well stored in the memory, and said full as well as if there were no darkness surrounding us. The whole was concluded with a blessing. The captain of the boat having been informed of the conduct of the bar-keeper, ordered him to be put on shore, which was done at the next landing-place. The ladies (always compassionate) interceded, but nothing would avail till the reputation of the boat were restored by a public example of an

offender against the morals and religion of our Christian country. A petition, however, was signed by us all that, on the return of the steamer, the bar-keeper, after making a proper apology, should be restored to his place."

JOHN N. NORTON, *Life of Bishop Chase* (1857), 75-76, 93-94.

YOUNG LADIES' HOLIDAY IN 1843

No heaven need wear a lovelier aspect than earth did this afternoon, after the clearing up of the shower. We traversed the blooming plain, unmarked by any road, only the friendly track of wheels which tracked, not broke the grass. Our stations were not from town to town, but from grove to grove. These groves first floated like blue islands in the distance. As we drew nearer, they seemed fair parks, and the little log houses on the edge, with their curling smokes, harmonized beautifully with them.

One of these groves, Ross's grove, we reached just at sunset. It was of the noblest trees I saw during this journey, for the trees generally were not large or lofty, but only of fair proportions. Here they were large enough to form with their clear stems pillars for grand cathedral aisles. There was space enough for crimson light to stream through upon the floor of water which the shower had left. As we slowly plashed through, I thought I was never in a better place for vespers.

That night we rested, or rather tarried at a grove some miles beyond, and there partook of the miseries so often jocosely portrayed, of bed-chambers for twelve, a milk dish for universal handbasin, and expectations that you would use and lend your "hankercher" for a towel. But this was the only night, thanks to the hospitality of private families, that we passed thus, and it was well that we had this bit of experience, else might we have pronounced all Trollopian records of the kind to be inventions of pure malice.

With us was a young lady who showed herself to have been bathed in the Britannic fluid, wittily described by a late French writer, by the impossibility she experienced of accommodating herself to the indecorums of the scene. We ladies were to sleep in the bar-room, from which its drinking visiters could be ejected only at a late hour. The outer door had no fastening to prevent their return. However, our host kindly requested we would call him, if they did, as he had "conquered them for us," and would do so again. We had also rather hard couches; (mine was the supper table,) but we yankees, born to rove, were altogether too much fatigued to stand upon trifles, and slept as sweetly as we would in the "bigly bower" of any baroness. But I think England sat up all night,

wrapped in her blanket shawl, and with a neat lace cap upon her head; so that she would have looked perfectly the lady, if any one had come in; shuddering and listening. I know that she was very ill next day, in requital. She watched, as her parent country watches the seas, that nobody may do wrong in any case, and deserved to have met some interruption, she was so well prepared. However, there was none, other than from the nearness of some twenty sets of powerful lungs, which would not leave the night to a deadly stillness. In this house we had, if not good beds, yet good tea, good bread, and wild strawberries, and were entertained with most free communications of opinion and history from our hosts.

S. M. FULLER, *Summer on the Lakes in 1843* (1844), 40-42.

THE HUNTING SEASON IN 1837

Deer are more abundant than at the first settlement of the country. They increase, to a certain extent, with the population. The reason of this appears to be that they find protection in the neighbourhood of man from the beasts of prey that assail them in the wilderness, and from whose attacks their young particularly can with difficulty escape. They suffer most from the wolves, who hunt in packs, like hounds, and who seldom give up the chase until the deer is taken.

Immense numbers of deer are killed every year by the hunters, who take them for the hams and skins alone, throwing away the rest of the carcass. Venison hams and hides are important articles of export. Fresh hams usually sell at from 75 cents to \$1.50 a pair, and when properly cured, are a delicious article of food.

There are several ways of hunting deer, all of which are equally simple. Most generally the hunter proceeds to the woods on horseback, in the day-time, selecting particularly certain hours which are thought to be most favourable. It is said, that during the season when the pastures are green, this animal rises from its lair precisely at the rising of the moon, whether in the day or night; such is the uniform testimony of experienced hunters. If it be true, it is certainly a curious display of animal instinct. This hour, therefore, is always kept in view by the hunter, as he rides slowly through the forest with his rifle on his shoulder, while his keen eye penetrates the surrounding shades. On beholding a deer, the hunter slides from his horse, and while the deer is observing the latter, creeps upon him, keeping the largest trees between himself and the object of pursuit, until he gets near enough to fire. An expert woodsman seldom fails to hit his game.

Another mode is, to watch at night, in the neighbourhood of the salt-licks. These are spots where the earth is impregnated with saline particles, or where the salt-water oozes through the soil. Deer and other grazing animals frequent such places, and remain for hours licking the earth. The hunter secretes himself here, either in the thick top of a tree, or, most generally, in a screen erected for the purpose, and artfully concealed, like a mashed battery, with logs or green boughs. This practice is pursued only in the summer, or early in the autumn, in cloudless nights, when the moon shines brilliantly, and objects may be readily discovered. At the rising of the moon, or shortly after, the deer, having risen from their beds, approach the lick. Such places are generally bare of timber, but surrounded by it, and as the animal is about to emerge from the shade into the clear moonlight, he stops, looks cautiously around, and snuffs the air. Then he advances a few steps, and stops again, smells the ground, or raises his expanded nostrils, as if he 'snuffed the approach of danger in every tainted breeze.' The hunter sits motionless, and almost breathless, waiting until the animal shall get within rifle-shot, and until its position in relation to the hunter and the light, shall be favourable, when he fires with an unerring aim. A few deer only can be thus killed in one night, and after a few nights these timorous animals are driven from the haunts which are thus disturbed.

Many of the frontier people dress deer-skins, and make them into pantaloons and hunting-shirts. These articles are indispensable to all who have occasion to travel in viewing land, or for any other purpose, beyond the settlements, as cloth garments, in the shrubs and vines, would soon be in strings.

S. AUGUSTUS MITCHELL. pub., *Illinois in 1837* (1837), 38-39.

MOTORISTS' GUIDE, CHICAGO TO OTTAWA, 1916

MILEAGE

Total Intermed.

0.0	0.0	CHICAGO; Michigan & Jackson Blvds. Go west on Jackson Blvd. to entrance of
4.7	4.7	Garfield Park; enter park and bear right across trolley at Madison St.
5.3	0.6	Turn sharp left past Robt. Burns Monument and refectory, going almost straight out of park onto Washington Blvd.
7.9	2.6	Austin Ave., low concrete chapel on far right; turn left 1 block and then right on Madison St., picking up trolley.

MILEAGE

Total Intermed.

10.0	2.1	Desplaines Ave.; turn left around saloon with branch trolley, crossing RR. and 3d rail at Forest Park 10.3. Straight ahead where trolley leaves 11.0, running between numerous cemeteries.
12.4	2.4	4-corners; meeting poles, turn right on good stone. Cross RR. 12.5-14.2.
15.0	2.6	End of road; jog left and immediately right, following heavy poles thru Proviso 16.1.
17.4	2.4	End of road; turn left with poles, following good stone on winding road. Curve right and left around old mill 19.3. Jog left and right thru 4-corners at Fullersburg 19.6.
20.0	2.6	End of road just after curving right; turn left down-grade.
20.5	0.5	Right-hand road, RR. just ahead; turn right.
20.6	0.1	Hinsdale, station on left. Go ahead, following poles across RR. 24.2; thru Downers Grove 24.9. Caution for sharp upgrade 28.8, continuing ahead with heavy poles downgrade into
32.1	11.5	Naperville, iron water trough on left. Turn left across iron bridge.
32.2	0.1	Right-hand road just after crossing bridge; turn right, curving left and right around pond.
32.6	0.4	Fork; bear left with one line of poles. Right is Route 22 to Aurora and Ottawa. Cross RR. 36.8.
37.6	5.0	Fork; bear right.
38.3	0.7	4-corners, brick school on right; turn left.
38.6	0.3	5-corners; turn right on gravel. Straight thru all intersecting roads. Cross RR. and trolley 39.7, going thru 4-corners 39.8. Right and left at 39.8 is the line of the Lincoln Highway. Curve left 43.4 across iron bridge, and at
43.7	5.1	End of road, turn right. Curve left 44.4 into
44.5	0.8	Oswego, 4-corners; meeting trolley, turn right across long iron bridge over Fox River.
44.8	0.3	End of road; turn left (trolley goes right).
50.0	5.2	End of road; turn left.

MILEAGE

Total Intermed.

50.3	0.3	End of road; jog right and left.
50.4	0.1	End of road; turn right.
50.6	0.2	At park, turn left downgrade.
50.7	0.1	Yorkville, business center across river. Turn right along the river following heavy poles across iron bridge 50.8. Cross iron bridge over Fox River 55.4.
55.7	5.0	End of road; turn right on good gravel, following poles across RR. 57. 8. Avoid road to left 58.1; thru edge of Millbrook 58.2. Keep ahead where poles and travel leave to right 60.6.
62.0	6.3	End of road; meeting heavy poles, turn left thru Newark 63.2.
63.3	1.3	End of road; turn right. Avoid road to right where poles leave 64.0, avoiding gravel road to left 64.2. Keep ahead, avoiding road to left at red barn 68.6. Pick up poles 69.5; thru Norway 69.8.
71.8	8.5	Left-hand road, sign on left; turn left with poles, passing school and church at Danway 72.3.
72.4	0.6	Right-hand road; turn right with poles.
73.6	1.2	Fork, slate-colored barn on left; bear right with poles.
75.7	2.1	Fork, sign in angle; bear left with poles. Cross RR. 80.8.
81.0	5.3	Just after crossing canal, turn right along same, crossing iron bridge over Fox River 81.8 into Superior St. City Map, page 156.
82.5	1.5	Columbus St.; meeting trolley, turn left.
82.9	0.4	Madison St.; turn right with trolley to Court House.
83.0	0.1	OTTAWA; Madison & La Salle Sts.

Official Automobile Blue Book (1916), IV:72-73.

EVICTION A HALF-CENTURY AGO

One time there was an Irish family living in the basement of Jim Van Arnam's old stone house who would neither pay their rent or vacate the premises and Jim determined to take matters into his own hands. Some masons had been at work in the upper story and had left a heavy timber there, and one night he went to the house, took off his boots and rept up stairs, laid hold of the timber, raised it and let it drop with a remendous thud just over the heads of his sleeping victims, then made

his escape undetected. A day or two later the woman came to Mr. Ayres (to whom Jim had unfolded his plan) for the purpose of borrowing some money with which to build a shanty. Mr. Ayres remarked that he had supposed that she was well fixed where she was. She then began telling him of the fearful noises they had heard there in the dead of night, guns going off and dreadful pounding and not a soul about the place, and no one could convince her that a horrible murder had not sometime been committed there and for all the world, in that house they would not stay. So Jim got rid of his tenant.

INEZ A. KENNEDY, pub., *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County* (1893), 329-30.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American. By Howard Fast. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce: New York, 1946. Pp. 337. \$3.00.)

This is a powerful novel of the life of John Peter Altgeld, governor of Illinois from 1893 to 1897, and a leading liberal of his time; written by a man who professes to be conducting a "one man reformation of the historical novel in America." As a novel it is interesting to read. It portrays on a broad canvas the life of one of Illinois' outstanding citizens, and at the same time contrives to convey the mood and the impression of the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The bitter struggle between capital and labor of the period, in which Altgeld emerged as a champion of the underdog, forms the main theme of the work.

In reality, in spite of the author's concern with Altgeld, it is obvious that this struggle for freedom and industrial democracy is his main interest, and that the life of Altgeld is but the medium in which he works; and further, that this novel, as conceived by the author, is written with an eye to labor of today and not simply as a literary exercise. These facts must be kept in mind by the reader. The message is there, often painted in the black and white of justice versus injustice rather than the sordid grays of reality; but agree or not, there is no vitiating the author's ability to depict, to breathe life into the scene.

It is clear that Mr. Fast has drawn heavily for material from the best work on Altgeld, Harry Barnard's "*Eagle Forgotten*:" *The Life of John Peter Altgeld*.¹ For documented facts, the historian cannot recommend Barnard's work too highly, but for an imaginative novel, Mr. Fast's book is well worth reading. Yet its main function should be to keep alive the name of a great man. Altgeld's lowly beginnings, his struggle up the ladder of success as a lawyer and politician—and a humanitarian liberal; his courageous stand in pardoning the survivors of the Haymarket case; his later actions in the Pullman strike; his clashes with President Cleveland; these mirror the image of a true American, whose principles were genuinely democratic—with a small "d."

Some will object to the publisher's jacket which describes Altgeld as a "latter-day Lincoln" and as "the last indigenous American hero" but these are only minor points.

Northwestern University

ALFRED ROCKEFELLER, JR.

¹ Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938.

The Chicago Cubs. By Warren Brown. (G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1946. Pp. 248. \$2.75.)

Although there have been seasons when Cub followers were inclined to the view that the team merited the interest only of antiquarians, yet this book, written by the sports editor of the *Chicago Sun*, shows the history of the club to be rich and entertaining. From the days of A. G. Spaulding and "Pop" Anson, through the régimes of Frank Chance, Joe McCarthy, Rogers Hornsby, and "Gabby" Hartnett, and on into the present with Charlie Grimm, it has scooted up and down the baseball roller coaster.

Many times the Cubs have established records; and just about as often, records have been made against them. Their roster has boasted some of baseball's most competent as well as some of its most colorful performers; and their front office has brought some of its most startling innovations.

In the matter of their famous player deals, Mr. Brown does not think the Cubs have fared as badly as is generally supposed; and he concedes great credit to the Wrigleys, father and son, for their efforts to give the fans a winning team and to provide a clean, comfortable, beautiful park in which to watch it. In Bill Veeck and James T. Gallagher the Wrigleys have had able front-office lieutenants.

The author reveals for the first time how the Yankees obtained Joe McCarthy as their manager after he had won a pennant for the Cubs; and he also lifts the veil on the deal whereby the Cubs sneaked Hank Borowy out of the American League to the consternation of several American League clubs that could have used his services.

In "Rabbit" Maranville, "Old Pete" Alexander, "Dizzy" Dean, "Hack" Wilson, and Lou Novikoff, not to mention Charlie Grimm, the Cubs have possessed some of the diamond's most exotic characters. Mr. Brown describes their antics on and off the field and implies that he could have told more. One wishes he had, for baseball's personalities are baseball's greatest appeal.

But if we chide Mr. Brown for holding back what must have been some rollicking, intimate yarns, we must commend his contribution to the fascinating and fast-growing literature of our national sport.

Springfield, Ill.

BENJAMIN P. THOMAS.

American Radicalism 1865-1901: Essays and Documents. By Chester McArthur Destler. (Connecticut College Monograph No. 3, Connecticut College: New London, 1946. Pp. xii, 276. \$2.50.)

This study contains, in part, a collection of articles which previously

appeared in various historical journals. The major points in each article are emphasized by appropriately selected documents. One may thoroughly disagree with many of the contributions and analyses and criticize them on technical points, but in spite of this, *American Radicalism* renders an excellent challenge. It raises a number of scholarly questions in the field of American history which ought to be more closely studied from a sociological point of view.

Probably the most important contributions in the book may be found in the two chapters on the so-called "Pendleton Plan." The author refutes the existence of such a plan and of "The Ohio Idea" regularly repeated by American historians (pp. 32-43).

A documentary study of the political maneuvering of Burnette G. Haskell's attempt to unite the Red and Black (Bakunin) Internationals is detailed in a chapter entitled, "Shall Red and Black Unite?" The adequate treatment of this subject, together with the study of the Toledo natural gas pipe-line controversy in the following chapter, will be revealing to the older school of American historians who are prone to gloss over such topics if not ignore them entirely.

Two chapters dealing with the Labor-Populist Alliance in Illinois in 1894 are among the best in the book. The address delivered by Henry Demarest Lloyd on October 6, 1894, entitled, "Revolution: The Evolution of Socialism" has been included in Chapter X as a contribution to the study of the Populist movement. This document, according to the author, has never been used by students of that movement.

Professor Destler concludes his book with an able study of "Free Silver vs. Collectivism: Disintegration of the Labor-Populist Alliance in Illinois."

Purdue University.

M. L. FLANINGAM.

The Iowa Journal of History and Politics. Cumulative Index, Volumes I-XL, 1903-1942, SM-Z. Edited by Ruth A. Gallaher. (State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, 1946. Pp. 171.)

The State Historical Society of Iowa has just published the final section of its cumulative index to the first forty volumes of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*. The entire work—consisting of about nine hundred pages—was divided into five sections of the alphabet, the first of which was issued in 1944. The value of this index, prepared under the name of the Associate Editor of the State Historical Society, cannot be overestimated. By careful selection of entries and subentries, she has made readily available the mine of material published in the *Journals* between

1903 and 1942, inclusive, and has at the same time wisely omitted the many entirely meaningless references with which indexes are so often cluttered. It is gratifying, also, to see none of the endless lists of page numbers which discourage even the most indefatigable research student.

This reviewer is particularly interested in the successful technique of this index. The Illinois State Historical Society has embarked on a similar project and will be engaged in it for several years.

J. M.

Threescore Years and Ten. A Narrative of the First Seventy Years of Eli Lilly and Company, 1876-1946. By Roscoe Collins Clark. (Privately Printed, 1946. Pp. 132.)

This handsome little book, beautifully printed on fine paper and attractively bound, tells the history of the seventy years of the Eli Lilly and Company pharmaceutical business. With headquarters at Indianapolis, the company has grown from the small chemist's shop founded by Eli Lilly in May, 1876, into one of the world's leading manufactories of pharmaceutical and biological products. The story of this company is also the story of the personalities behind it. This book is an especially readable and interesting history of the founder, Eli Lilly, and of those who have succeeded him. It is also an informative account of the growth of pharmaceutical research and the making of medicines during the past seventy years. Probably no similar period in the world's history has witnessed such advances in the discovery of new drugs. The book is profusely illustrated.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Annual Report, 1945, Chicago Plan Commission. (Chicago, 1946. Pp. 35.)

This is the sixth annual report of the Chicago Plan Commission prepared in compliance with the ordinance of the City Council in 1939 which established the Commission. The report embodies the preliminary stage of the "comprehensive city plan of Chicago." It is encouraging to see to what extent the Commission has kept before it the challenging ideal of Daniel H. Burnham who wrote in 1909: "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood, and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high. . . ."

These are, indeed, no little plans, the major parts of which embrace the city's thoroughfares, transportation, utilities, private land use, school, park, and play areas, and public building location. Maps, diagrams, and illustrations further emphasize how ambitious these plans

are for a better Chicago—and it is a better Chicago rather than a bigger one in which the Chicago Plan Commission is primarily interested. The map of the preliminary “comprehensive city plan” is designed for a population of 3,800,000 by 1965.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

New Trier Township Makes Its Report, 1850-1946. (Published by New Trier Township, 1946. Pp. 35.)

This interesting experiment with a “know your township” purpose is primarily a report to residents of New Trier Township by their township officials. A brief history is given, telling when the township was settled and by whom, the origin of the name, etc. Short sketches of municipalities within the township—Glencoe, Kenilworth, Wilmette, Winnetka, and parts of Glenview and Northfield—are also included.

This is also a booklet on township government and how it operates. It tells who the officials are, whether elected or appointed, and what they do. There is a map of New Trier Township showing population distribution, and another showing the school and park districts; the financial statement of the township for the year ending February 28, 1946, is also given. Additional information on public relief, the state-aid program, a directory of local agencies and services, and a bibliography complete the booklet.

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Abraham Lincoln. A Vast Future. Selected Articles Published Over More Than a Century Reflecting the Foresight and Influence of the Great Illinois Lawyer and President. By Isaac Kuhn. (Champaign, Ill., Privately Printed, Jos. Kuhn & Co., 1946. Pp. 52.)

This little book, well printed on fine paper and attractively bound, is a memento of the eightieth anniversary of the men's clothing firm of Jos. Kuhn & Co., in Champaign. The book is composed of articles and addresses intended to reflect the influence of Abraham Lincoln on American life. “The theme in the minds of those responsible for this volume,” says Mr. Kuhn, “is contained in the following statement by Lincoln: ‘The struggle of today is not altogether for today; it is for a vast future also.’ ”

The book contains an essay “Abraham Lincoln—One Hundred Years, 1845-1945,” by C. C. Burford. There is an address by Congressman William A. Rodenberg delivered on February 12, 1919, before the Illinois General Assembly in joint session. There are excerpts from a speech made

by Justice Felix Frankfurter in New York City on June 25, 1945, honoring Thomas Mann. The principal address reproduced is one by C. C. Burford, "Abraham Lincoln and the Pioneer Railroads of the Central West," which was given before the Kiwanis Club of Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, on February 8, 1945. A reproduction of an issue of *The Pine Torch* of July-August, 1945, tells of the visit of Miss Helen Keller to Piney Woods School on May 28, 1945.

In conclusion, Mr. Kuhn expresses the hope that the spirit of Lincoln may be our guide. The future is in our hands. "It is our obligation and privilege to shape that future in his spirit."

S. A. WETHERBEE.

Herndon: Lincoln's Law Partner. By David Herbert Donald. (An abstract of a thesis, Urbana, Ill., 1946. Pp. 13.)

David Donald has a volume on William H. Herndon in preparation. This abstract of his doctoral thesis on the same subject may be a foretaste of the feast to come. Billy Herndon has long been known as Peck's bad boy of the Lincoln field—but also one of the essential sources. To understand Herndon and his great importance a sense of humor is necessary, and Dr. Donald has this in a marked degree. This abstract is a cameo of Lincoln's law partner. It is also a summary of the life of Lincoln's man Friday, his ambitions, his frustrations, his desire to read rather than to work. The author shows the error in the common interpretation of Herndon as the spark that ignited the antislavery emotions of the conservative Lincoln. He shows, too, that the two men drew apart politically after the Lincoln-Douglas debates but that personally they remained warm and solid to the last day Lincoln spent in Springfield. On that evening the President-elect had come to the old law office. Throwing himself down on the rickety sofa, he reminisced about his sixteen years' partnership with Herndon. "We've never had a cross word during all that time, have we?" Lincoln asked. Herndon lived the rest of his life with that remark. The reader of this thesis will find sentiment and pathos as well as humor in its scholarly pages.

J. M.

Abraham Lincoln and George Ashmun. By F. Lauriston Bullard. (Reprinted from *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, June, 1946. Pp. 184-211.)

George Ashmun is remembered as the presiding officer at the Chicago convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln in 1860. A professional

Whig politician, he had become prominent in Massachusetts as an opponent of slavery extension and in Washington as a determined obstructionist in President Polk's Mexican War. During the years of Lincoln's presidency he seems to have had great influence when questions of political expediency arose. Dr. Bullard, with his usual thoroughness, traces in this monograph Ashmun's contacts with Lincoln in Congress, during the Chicago convention, and as secret agent to Canada during the war.

J. M.

Abraham Lincoln in Wisconsin. By George P. Hambrecht (1871-1943). (Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin: Madison, 1946. Pp. 20. 50c.)

One of the last contributions of George P. Hambrecht to Lincolniana was the speech he made at the annual meeting of the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin in 1941. This address has now been printed by the Lincoln Fellowship—surely a fitting memorial to a Lincolnian.

George Hambrecht made Lincoln's visits to Wisconsin one of the big interests of his life. In this speech he gives the known details of Lincoln's march up Rock River as a captain of Illinois militia in 1832 and his attendance at the Wisconsin State Fair at Milwaukee in 1859, where he delivered an address on agriculture. He also discusses the evidence which shows that Lincoln may have made another trip to Wisconsin—visiting Milwaukee, Port Washington, and Sheboygan—between 1835 and 1840.

Hambrecht did much research on this rumored trip of Lincoln's to Wisconsin in the late Thirties. He marshals considerable evidence, but it was all dated long after the event. Students who want to fathom this detail of Lincoln's life will be helped by these citations, but they must beware of a quotation from one investigator which reads: "We know definitely about Lincoln's whereabouts during the whole of the year 1835 except during the months of October and November."

Hambrecht's pamphlet is concluded with two paragraphs on Mrs. Lincoln at Waukesha, and an illustration depicts the Hibbard statue of Abraham and Mary Lincoln at Racine.

J. M.

The Party of Abraham Lincoln. By Frank Farrington. (Greenlawn Publications: Delhi, N. Y., 1946. Pp. 52. \$1.00.)

Frank Farrington, lecturer and writer on salesmanship, has published a booklet giving the history of the beginning of the Republican Party, state by state. He also gives the origin of the name as one to attract followers of Jefferson's Republican Party and tells how both parties

hobbled through the Era of Good Feeling on "Democratic-Republican" or "National Republican" crutches until Jackson, with unprecedented popularity, was elected as a simon-pure Democrat. The name Republican then went into eclipse until it was brought out again for the presidential election of 1856.

The author traces the development of the party in 1854, describes Lincoln's Lost Speech as the great welder of conflicting political elements in Illinois. His outline of the party's development terminates with the election of 1856. By that time, he states, "the outspoken declarations of Abraham Lincoln" had formed an enduring nucleus for the party. This booklet, written essentially for popular information, is far above the average of its kind.

J. M.

Joseph Benjamin Oakleaf Collection of Lincolniana. (Privately Printed, Moline, Ill., 1945. Pp. 13.)

This interesting pamphlet contains thirteen pages of pictures and text about the ceremony at Bloomington, Indiana, when George A. Ball, Frank L. Jones, and William G. Irwin presented the Oakleaf Collection of Lincolniana to the Indiana University Foundation. Perhaps the unlucky number of thirteen pages has had something to do with the tardiness of this review. The ceremony occurred in 1943, this booklet was published in 1945, and it was received in the Illinois State Historical Library in 1946.

In any event, the illustrations are reminiscent of an important day for Lincoln collectors. A foreword by President Herman B. Wells tells the University's plans for collecting Lincoln material. Illustrations show J. B. Oakleaf, the collector, the Lincoln Room in the University Library, and the three donors of the collection. The remarks of Mr. J. L. Oakleaf at the dedicatory dinner conclude the pamphlet. All collectors of Lincolniana will want this handsome memorial to J. B. Oakleaf, the Baby of the Big Five.

J. M.

RECENT MAGAZINE ARTICLES OF INTEREST TO ILLINOISANS

"Preparation of the Teacher of State and Local History." By William O. Lynch. (*Indiana History Bulletin*, Jan., 1946.)

"Teaching State and Local History in the Elementary School." By Mrs. Joy M. Lacey. (*Indiana History Bulletin*, Jan., 1946.)

"Historical Method and American Folklore." By Richard M. Dorson. (*Indiana History Bulletin*, Jan., 1946.)

"The American Backwoodsman in Popular Portraiture." By Thomas D. Clark. (*Indiana Magazine of History*, March, 1946.)

"German Forty-Eighters in Davenport." By Hildegard Binder Johnson. (*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Jan., 1946.)

"The Pictorial Record of the Old West." By Robert Taft. (*The Kansas Historical Quarterly* for Feb., May, and Aug., 1946.)

"The 'Recit des Voyages et des Decouvertes du Père Jacques Marquette.'" By Jean Delanglez. (*Mid-America*, July, 1946.)

"The Jolliet Lost Map of the Mississippi." By Jean Delanglez. (*Mid-America*, April, 1946.)

"The Discovery of the Mississippi." By Jean Delanglez. (*Mid-America*, Jan., 1946.)

"The Mississippi River Logging Company." By Bernhardt J. Kleven. (*Minnesota History*, Sept., 1946.)

"General Orders 100 and Military Government." By Frank Freidel. (*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1946.)

"The Civil War Diary of John T. Buegel, Union Soldier." Translated by William G. Bek. (*Missouri Historical Review*, April and July, 1946.)

"Devil-Wagon Days." By Dorothy V. Walters. (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Sept., 1946.)

All issues of the *Egyptian Key*, published in Carbondale, Illinois, contain articles of interest to Illinoisans. This attractive magazine, under the editorship of Will Griffith, is now in its fourth year of publication.

NEWS AND COMMENT

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The forty-seventh annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in Peoria on October 4 and 5. The presentation of an excellent program combined with the beautiful fall weather to make the event a memorable occasion for all who attended.

The meeting opened with a luncheon in the Ballroom of the Hotel Père Marquette on Friday, October 4. Mr. Ernest E. East, past president of the Society and chairman of its program committee for this meeting, presided. Dr. Leonard Odiorne, minister of the First Federated [Presbyterian] Church in Peoria, asked the blessing, and Mayor Carl O. Triebel gave a cordial welcome to the visitors. "The Historical Records of 1000 A.D. in Illinois" was the title of the main address, presented by Dr. Thorne Deuel, director of the Illinois State Museum. Dr. Deuel used a collection of colored slides to illustrate his interesting account of recent discoveries in Illinois Indian mounds.

Dr. Theodore C. Pease, senior vice-president of the Illinois State Historical Society and head of the History Department at the University of Illinois, presided over the Friday afternoon session. The speaker on this occasion was Mr. Colton Storm, who gave a splendid talk on "The Notorious Colonel Wilkins." Mr. Storm is Curator of Manuscripts and Maps at the William L. Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The annual business meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at the close of the Friday afternoon session. This part of the program has formerly been scheduled at the close of the two-day meeting, but it was believed that holding it earlier might lead to less hurried consideration of the Society's business affairs as well as to increased attendance. A summary of the business transacted is printed at the end of this account.

The Annual Dinner of the Illinois State Historical Society was served in the La Salle Room of the Hotel Père Marquette on Friday evening. Many guests from Peoria and vicinity who had been unable to attend the daytime sessions were present. In the absence of President James G. Randall, whose illness prevented his attending, Dr. Pease graciously consented to preside. The Rev. Joseph H. Fennen, pastor of

St. Monica's [Catholic] Church in East Peoria, gave the invocation at the beginning of the meal. Before the main address of the evening, the Stephen Foster Singers presented a number of old favorites. This group of girls, led by Miss Ginevra M. Chivington, director of vocal music at Manual Training High School in Peoria, has been singing together for seven years. Dressed in beautiful pastel gowns fashioned with hoop skirts, they made a charming picture as they delighted the audience with their beautiful voices. The main address of the evening, "Taking Stock of Our Folk Culture," was presented by Theodore C. Blegen, dean of the Graduate School at the University of Minnesota. Dean Blegen punctuated his brilliant talk by singing several ballads, thereby adding to the obvious enjoyment of his listeners.

On Saturday morning, when the members of the Historical Society stepped outside the hotel, they found a caravan of cars waiting to make the trip to Jubilee College State Park. The local committee had provided a large bus in addition to a number of private automobiles, so there was ample transportation for all who did not bring their own cars.

On the lovely hilltop above the Kickapoo River where Bishop Philander Chase founded Jubilee College in 1839, the visitors spent a leisurely half-hour wandering about the grounds, peering into the old college building, and studying the markers in the churchyard where Bishop Chase and others are buried. The group was then assembled at the picnic area by Lester O. Schriver, who was chairman of the committee on local arrangements. He first introduced Virginius H. Chase of Peoria, great-grandson of Bishop Chase, whose account of "Jubilee College and its Founder" was both enlightening and humorous. Mr. Chase was followed by Congressman Everett M. Dirksen, of Pekin, whose eloquent account of his trip to the European and African continents was a fitting climax to the forty-seventh annual meeting.

At the close of the morning's program, a picnic luncheon was served by members of the local committee and their helpers. The Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society then gathered for their annual business meeting and election of officers, the account of which will be found elsewhere in this publication.

Members who had time to visit Peoria stores found some interesting exhibits on display in many of the show windows. These consisted of a variety of items of historical interest which had been lent by various Peoria citizens for this occasion.

The Illinois State Historical Society is greatly indebted to the members of the committee on local arrangements for the successful meeting in Peoria. The members of this committee included: Lester O. Schriver, chair-

man, G. R. Barnett, Phil J. Becker, Jr., E. C. Bessler, Ray N. Brons, Georgia M. East, David Keith, and Dr. John Voss. In addition to the above, Ernest E. East, past president of the Society and an *ex officio* member of the local committee, should also be given credit for doing a major share of the work in connection with this annual event of the Illinois State Historical Society.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

To the Directors and Members of the Illinois State Historical Society—
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I present herewith a review of the activities of the Illinois State Historical Society since its last annual meeting, held at Springfield and New Salem on October 5 and 6, 1945.

All activities of the Society during the past year and during the next few years ahead are, of course, closely related to the plans for the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Society to be held in 1949. Recommendations made by the Fiftieth Anniversary Committee for observance of this event were acted on at Directors' meetings during the past year.

The plans, as outlined at present, call for the holding of a full two day meeting in 1949 with nationally recognized speakers on the program. Publication of two books is also included in the anniversary plans. The first volume is to be a new edition of Dr. Pease's *Story of Illinois*, the second a pictorial history of the state. A contract has been signed with the University of Chicago Press for the publication of these books. The Society is to pay a \$3,949 subsidy and draw twenty per cent royalty on net receipts after the sale of the first 1000 copies. In addition to these two books, the Directors have also recommended publication of a brief history of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The cost of the anniversary celebration is to be defrayed by a campaign for voluntary contributions of \$50 each from members who will be known as Fiftieth Anniversary Sponsors. The Fiftieth Anniversary Committee has expressed its belief that 100 such Sponsors can be found, thereby providing a fund of \$5,000. The Society would then contribute \$5,000 from its treasury, to reach the total amount of \$10,000 deemed necessary for the anniversary celebration.

Another objective outlined by the Fiftieth Anniversary Committee was a total of 1500 members in the Society by 1949. I am pleased to announce that this goal has already been reached. The membership committee consisting of John Valentine, Barbara Burr Hubbs, and O. Fritiof Ander has aided materially in securing many new members. In addition

invitations have been sent to people on various mailing lists, and all members of the Society have been sent addressed cards on which they could submit the names of prospective members. Several hundred letters have also been sent out by your Secretary to individuals. This procedure has brought 379 new members to the Society during the past twelve months. This makes a total of 1622 paying members in the Society on October 1, 1946. Of these, 93 are institutional members.

The campaign to get \$50 contributions from Fiftieth Anniversary Sponsors, mentioned above, has not been pushed recently because the membership list has grown so fast that it seemed inadvisable to commence until the Society has approximately the membership it could expect to have at the time of the Fiftieth Anniversary in 1949.

At the annual meeting in 1944, it was decided that the Society should employ someone to compile a cumulative index to all the Society's *Journals* from Volume I, issued in 1908, up to and including Volume XXV. A similar index to later volumes would follow the first one. This undertaking has been unsuccessful. Before your present Secretary assumed office two different people were employed to do this work. Both accomplished very little. Since my appointment I have tried two others with a similar experience. The indexing has now been taken over by some members of the staff of the Illinois State Historical Library and progress is being shown. To date, five years of the *Journals* have been indexed—Volumes I, III, VIII, XIX, and XXIII. On the face of it, however, this appears to be more of an accomplishment than it is. Two of these volumes were published at the beginning of the Society's existence when the publications were very brief. As the indexers get into the later larger volumes, the task will be much more difficult. I can say now that the index is going forward faster than it ever has, but it will not be finished for several years unless some efficient help is employed in addition to the part-time help we are getting from the regular members of the Library staff. Under present employment conditions this seems impossible.

Two special meetings of the Directors have been held since the last annual meeting of the Society. They voted to co-operate with the Illinois Council for the Social Studies in trying to interest teachers, prospective teachers, and students in the history of the state. A committee from your society met with a committee from the Council three times during the past year. At these meetings, plans were made for two summer courses, one registrants in each of which would be prospective teachers earning college credit for work completed. The first of these was to be a two-weeks' workshop at a state normal school, the second a two-weeks' tour of the state of Illinois to be offered jointly by the Illinois State Historical

Society, the Illinois Council for the Social Studies, Monmouth College, and Augustana College.

The workshop was designed as a course of study in which students would meet in the classroom daily, then go into the field to inspect local institutions for the purpose of studying their history, development, and social significance. A course of this kind was offered at Normal, Illinois, this summer, but it did not have an encouraging enrollment.

The tour of Illinois, held last June, proved to be highly successful. Traveling in trucks and sleeping and cooking outdoors, the students circled the entire state. Short lectures were given at numerous historic places by members of the faculty—consisting of John H. Hauberg, O. Fritiof Ander, Lynn Turner, Hazel Phillips, and Jay Monaghan—and by local historians. A reading list for members of the tour was prepared in advance by the Illinois State Historical Library. The tour was conducted on a cost basis which amounted to less than \$35 per person for the entire two-weeks' journey.

The Society's practice of taking a historical tour through some scenic or historic section of Illinois was revived last spring when a trip of unusual interest was offered. On May 10, members of the Society met in Harrisburg, for programs in the afternoon and evening. On the next day, they were the guests of the Greater Egypt Association on a motor tour of southeastern Illinois. Traveling in five large busses and a number of private cars, more than two hundred persons made this 170-mile trip. Members of the Illinois Council for the Social Studies were also invited to join the Society on this expedition. A detailed account of the tour appeared in the Society's *Journal* for September, 1946.

The Illinois State Historical Society is fortunate in having the cooperation of Alfred W. Stern, a Trustee of the Illinois State Historical Library. Mr. Stern has offered two prizes—one of \$100 and one of \$50—for the two best articles on Illinois or Illinoisans in the Civil War. The contest closes on December 31. These essays will be published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. If other papers submitted in this contest are considered suitable for the *Journal*, they will also be published and the author of each such article will receive \$25.

Next year will see a slight change in the format of the *Journal*, when a pictorial cover will be introduced. The first issue with this feature will appear in March, 1947.

It is gratifying to note the recognition from the press which has been accorded to various articles published in the Society's *Journal*. To cite a few such instances, Charles Collins, in his "Line O'Type" column in the *Chicago Tribune*, gave a splendid notice to the article on "The Early

Theatre in Chicago," by Harold E. Briggs and Ernestine B. Briggs which was published in the *Journal* of last June. Similarly, Merrill Faulk's "Parade," in the *Danville Commercial News*, reviewed the late John E. Kehoe's paper on "Trial Lawyers I Have Known" at some length. More recently, the *Shawneetown Democrat* called its readers' attention to "Beginnings of Architecture in Illinois" by Rexford Newcomb in the September *Journal* of the Society. From the same issue, the account of Edward Bonney's book on *The Banditti of the Prairies*, which was reviewed in the "Illinois Bookshelf," was chosen as the subject of a lengthy account by George Wickstrom in his "Town Crier" column of the *Rock Island Argus*. Many other examples of favorable press notices could be cited. These accounts are not confined to newspapers, of course, as the quarterlies of other state and regional historical societies also frequently give favorable notice to articles printed in our *Journal*.

I cite these examples because I believe that the average member of the Society probably does not realize how much recognition the Society gets from the press. The other activities of our organization, especially the annual meetings and spring tours, are also given widespread publicity. Frequent news items are sent by your Secretary to the press associations and to the State Division of Department Reports, whence they are released to newspapers all over the state.

Perhaps one of the most important decisions in the history of the Illinois State Historical Society in recent years will be the action which the members take on the proposed amendment to the constitution, a copy of which has been mailed to every member thirty days in advance of this meeting. The proposal to reduce the cost of membership, as contained in this amendment, will be discussed at this meeting.

In closing, I regret to report the deaths of several of the Illinois State Historical Society's most faithful members. Clint Clay Tilton, director of the Society for many years and president in 1940, died on July 13, 1946; George W. Smith, vice-president for a long period of years, died on November 20, 1945; and F. S. Fowler, one of our newer vice-presidents, died on November 16, 1945. These men were deeply devoted to the interests of the Society, and their advice and counsel will be sincerely missed. In addition, the Society suffered the loss of four life members during the past year: Frank Fuller Fowle of Winnetka, B. H. Heide of Chicago, Mrs. Harold E. Leopold of Chicago, and Frank J. Wilder of Boston, Massachusetts. I also regret to announce the death of Dr. Carl E. Black of Jacksonville, for many years a devoted member of this organization. Dr. Black left his correspondence, which covers about half a century and occupies some fifty filing cabinet drawers, and his extensive collection of photo-

graphs and biographies of Illinois physicians to the Society.

Summarizing briefly the audit of the Society's books prepared by Miss Lucy Williams, I can report the following: The Society's receipts from September 1, 1945, to September 1, 1946, totaled \$3,153.90. Disbursements for the same period were \$2,339.37, making a net gain of \$814.53 for the fiscal year. On September 1, 1946, the Society had \$3,781.14 in cash in the bank, and \$5,750 in government bonds, making a total net worth of \$9,531.14.

Respectfully submitted,

J. MONAGHAN.

MINUTES OF THE 47TH ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

A quorum being present, the meeting was called to order in Peoria, on October 4, 1946, by Senior Vice-President Theodore C. Pease in the absence of President James G. Randall.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary gave his annual report. Mr. Hayward asked how much money was pledged in the contract with the University of Chicago for the publication of the two books for the Society's Fiftieth Anniversary. The Secretary gave the amount, \$3,949. Mr. East moved that the Secretary's report be approved. This was seconded by Mr. Hayward and unanimously passed.

Mr. Pease called for consideration of old and new business. No motions were presented.

Attention was called to the following proposed amendment to the constitution of the Society:

ARTICLE III

Section 4. This Society may effect associating agreements with any local or county society having at least fifteen members, whereby such local or county society may increase its dues requirements one dollar (\$1.00) per annum, and when the proper officers of such local or county society have remitted such sum of one dollar (\$1.00) for each of the total membership of such society together with a list of the dues-paying members certified by such local officers, the members thus included shall thereby acquire Active Membership in this Society, with the restriction that such increase of local or county society dues and the remittance thereof to this Society shall be mandatory on the part of the local or county society, and shall in no event include less than the total dues-paying membership of the local or county society; but nothing in this provision shall preclude any person from becoming an Active or Life Member upon the same conditions as other persons.

The Secretary stated that this amendment had been submitted to the Board of Directors by mail and that they had not been unanimous in a decision either for or against its adoption. A copy had also been sent to all members of the Society as prescribed by the constitution.

Mr. Hayward asked for discussion on the merits and demerits of the proposed amendment.

Mr. Pearsons asked the origin of the amendment. The Secretary replied that it had been submitted by Mr. Sercial Thompson of Harrisburg.

Dean Hildner asked what advantage the amendment held for non-members of local societies who were now paying \$2.00 annually for membership in the state society.

Mr. Townley moved that consideration of the amendment be postponed for another year.

Mr. Pearsons moved that the amendment be rejected.

Mr. Matheny moved that the amendment be referred to the Directors for further consideration and that they make recommendations to the Society at its next annual meeting. This was seconded by Mr. East and passed unanimously.

The presiding officer announced that the annual election of five Directors was in order. The terms of Messrs. Dixon, Hauberg, and Pease had expired, Mr. Tilton's place had been vacated by death, and Mr. Beyer had moved from the state.

Mr. Hauberg read the report of the nominating committee, recommending that the three Directors whose terms were expiring should be re-elected. Mr. Hayward moved that the committee's report be adopted and Mr. Stevens seconded the motion, which was passed by unanimous vote. Mr. Hauberg further reported that the committee recommended the election of Mrs. Harry L. Meyer of Alton and Mr. Sercial Thompson of Harrisburg to fill the two vacancies on the board. Mr. Nowlan moved that the report of the nominating committee be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Hayward, and Mrs. Meyer and Mr. Thompson were elected unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.



MACMURRAY COLLEGE CENTENNIAL

MacMurray College concluded its centennial year with a final celebration in Jacksonville on October 6-10. The Board of Trustees of this institution—originally known as the Illinois Conference Female Academy—was organized on October 10, 1846. A year later the first classes were

held. During the past hundred years the name of this famous old college has changed four times. Since 1930 it has been called MacMurray College.

Last fall's centennial program opened with religious services on Sunday, October 6. Dr. James C. Baker, resident bishop in the California Area of the Methodist Church, addressed the congregation on "Looking Backward; Thinking Forward." In the evening, a concert of centennial compositions was presented. Monday, October 7, was observed as "Jacksonville Day." In the evening, a historical pageant entitled "MacMurray Through the Years" was presented. On Tuesday afternoon, Leon Carson, president of the National Association of Teachers of Singing, delivered an address on "The American Art Song—A Survey." Joseph C. Cleeland, director of music at MacMurray College, presided over this session. The evening's entertainment featured a centennial concert by Rose Bampton, soprano of the Metropolitan Opera Company.

As the centennial week advanced, the calendar of events became more crowded. Wednesday, October 9, was observed as "Alumnae Day." A symposium on "The College Exists for Public Service" was scheduled at 9:15 in the morning, with John Evans, education editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, Judith Waller, director of public service for the central division of the National Broadcasting Company, and J. Ralph Magee, resident bishop of the Methodist Church, Chicago Area, taking part in the discussion. Irma L. Gamble, trustee of MacMurray College, presided over this session. Later in the morning, a panel discussion on "Higher Education for Women" was held with Wendell S. Dysinger, dean of MacMurray College, presiding. Participants in this discussion were: Constance Warren, former president of Sarah Lawrence College; David D. Jones, president of Bennett College; Kathryn McHale, general director of the American Association of University Women; and Roswell G. Ham, president of Mount Holyoke College. The morning program was concluded with the various class reunion luncheons at noon.

On Wednesday afternoon, a student forum was conducted by Barbara Anne Taylor, president of the students' association. Constance Warren and Roswell G. Ham were discussion leaders. Louise Gates Eddy presided over the alumnae meeting which followed this part of the program. Dr. George D. Stoddard, president of the University of Illinois, and Emil Taft Douglas, member of Congress, addressed the meeting on "The Outlook for Higher Education" and "Education for Survival," respectively. The afternoon program closed with a reception given by President and Mrs. Clarence P. McClelland. At the alumnae dinner and candlelighting ceremony on Wednesday evening, Ann Marshall Orr, a trustee of MacMurray College, presided. The evening's program included addresses of

"Our Debt to the 'Small College' " by Franklin B. Snyder, president of Northwestern University, and "A Calvinist Looks at Methodism Through Catholic Spectacles" by Lynn T. White, Jr., president of Mills College. Alfred C. Crawford, a trustee of MacMurray College, presided on this occasion. The evening ended with an informal mixer for alumnae and friends.

Thursday, October 10, the final day of the centennial celebration, was observed as Founders' Day. Kathryn T. MacMurray, president of the MacMurray College board of trustees, presided over the centennial exercises. Two addresses were given: "The Morning Star of Memory" by Clarence P. McClelland, president of MacMurray College, and "The College as a Guide to American Culture" by Arthur H. Compton, chancellor of Washington University. At the conclusion of these speeches, a number of honorary degrees were conferred. The academic procession in this final ceremony included a large number of visiting scholars from educational institutions all over the country. The five-day festivities ended with a centennial luncheon immediately after the final exercises.

President McClelland recently announced that work will be started on the centennial chapel as soon as permission is secured from the Office of Price Administration. Mrs. Annie Merner Pfeiffer of New York contributed \$125,000 towards the chapel on condition that other friends would contribute \$75,000 for its endowment. This condition has been met by gifts of \$100,000 from the Illinois Annual Conference, \$50,000 from the citizens of Jacksonville, and \$25,000 from the Board of Education of the Methodist Church. The chapel will be Georgian in style and will seat 1150 people.



Rockford College began observance of its centennial year at the time the MacMurray College centennial year ended. The initial event at Rockford was a formal dinner on November 1. On this occasion, Martha Hillard MacLeish of Glencoe, president of the college from 1884 until her marriage to Andrew MacLeish in 1888, was the guest of honor. Her famous son, Archibald MacLeish, delivered the chief address of the evening. His subject was "Martha Hillard MacLeish—Citizen." Other speakers were Dr. Mary Ashby Cheek, president of Rockford College, William Lathrop, president of the board of trustees, Mrs. Charlotte Montgomery Snyder, speaking for the alumnae, and Dr. Elizabeth Brush of the faculty. Two other former presidents of Rockford College—Miss Phebe Sutliff of Warren, Ohio, and Dr. Gordon K. Chambers of Gambier, Ohio—were special guests. Many similar programs are planned by Rockford College during its centennial year.

Bishop Hill celebrated its centennial on September 22, 23, and 24, with a full program of events. On the opening day a centennial sermon was delivered by Dr. C. G. Wallenius, of Evanston, and a concert was given by the Svithiod Singing Club of Chicago. This chorus of sixty-five men entertained with both Swedish and American songs. In the evening a historical pageant was presented. The various scenes portrayed the story of Bishop Hill from the time the first colonists left their Swedish homes and came to the United States until the present time. Swedish songs and dances completed the evening's program.

On Monday, September 23, a merchants' parade was held in the morning. At noon the annual chicken dinner was served. This event, which has been held for many years, commemorates the old village custom of serving all meals to the colonists in one large dining hall. In the afternoon the Old Colony Church and the village park were formally dedicated as an Illinois state park, with Governor Dwight H. Green making the principal address. A dance in the evening concluded Monday's program of events.

Gosta Oldenburg, the Royal Consul General of the Swedish government, was the principal speaker on the final day of the centennial celebration. Edvard Persson, Swedish movie star, also appeared on the closing program.

Centennial visitors observed the restoration work which has been started on the Old Colony Church. When completed, this historic old building will be one of the state's most interesting landmarks. The gallery of paintings by Olaf Krans, on display in this building, is a special attraction. These pictures, most of them painted about the turn of the century, were donated by Krans to the Old Settlers' Association in 1912, and are now a part of Bishop Hill's gallery of permanent exhibits. Various other displays depicting the life of the early colonists may also be seen in this interesting old Swedish settlement.



Allan Nevins, professor of history at Columbia University and twice winner of the Pulitzer awards for the best biography of the year (*Grover Cleveland; A Study in Courage*, 1932, and *Hamilton Fish; The Inner History of the Grant Administration*, 1936), was recently awarded the \$10,000 Scribner prize in American history. This award was made for his two-volume work entitled the *Ordeal of the Union* which deals with the period of American history from 1847 to 1865. The contest, under the auspices of The Society

of American Historians, commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of Charles Scribner's Sons. Dr. Nevins, widely-known historian and author, was born at Camp Point, Illinois, graduated from the University of Illinois, and for a time was instructor of English there.



The little cottage in Galesburg where Carl Sandburg was born has recently been restored and furnished by the Carl Sandburg Association. Photographs of the great poet and biographer, as well as various editions of his books, may be found in the humble three-room home. Numerous items of Lincolniana are also on display. The large room at the rear will eventually be restored and will house many valuable gifts which are too large for the present quarters.

Dedicatory services were held in front of the cottage on the afternoon of October 7, the eighty-eighth anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Galesburg. A pilgrimage to the "Old Main" buildings of Lombard and Knox colleges—both of them closely associated with Sandburg's literary life and his interest in Abraham Lincoln—was made at the close of the program. Speakers at the dedication exercises included: Richard D. Lindsay, Charles H. Cobb, Kenneth Field, Ralph Newman, Quincy Wright, and John L. Conger. Mrs. Adda George was in charge of the program.

At a dedication dinner held in the evening, Marshall Field was the principal speaker. Short talks were also made by Fanny Butcher, Henry Austin, Harry Hansen, Rev. Alan Jenkins, and Herman R. Muelder.



On July 29, 1858, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas met in a little cottage at Bement, Illinois, to plan a series of debates. That cottage was the home of Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Bryant, cousins of William Cullen Bryant, and pioneer settlers of Illinois. This little four-room home, well preserved in much the same style as when it was built in 1856, has recently been donated to the state of Illinois by its owners, Mrs. Lily M. Sprague and her son, Bryant P. Sprague, and will be opened as a state memorial as soon as repair work is completed. A group of citizens headed by C. C. Burford of Urbana, editor of the *Journal* of the Illinois Archaeological Society, called the state's attention to this historic building.

On September 8, a seven-foot bronze statue depicting Lincoln as a young lawyer was dedicated in Decatur. The statue, which is the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Roy M. Dawson of Decatur, was executed by Boris Lovet-Lorski of New York. It stands in front of the Macon County Building. Dudley Crafts Watson of the Chicago Art Institute delivered the principal dedicatory address. Mayor James A. Hedrick, of Decatur, and Reginald Neal, director of the Decatur Art Center, also spoke.



A "Who's Who Among Yorkers" contest was conducted early in the year by the New York State Historical Association, for the purpose of selecting the ten leading junior historians of the state. The winners were students of junior or senior high schools who were believed to have done the most toward promoting an interest in state and local history. The May issue of *The Yorker*, a magazine sponsored by the New York State Historical Association for junior historians, carried pictures and brief sketches of the winners. In addition, each of the ten winning contestants received an inscribed certificate testifying to his accomplishments.



On September 15 the *Aurora Beacon-News* observed its centennial anniversary with a 256-page special edition. The paper contains many good photographs and articles. Reproduction of old advertisements from earlier issues show how great, indeed, have been the changes not only in the products advertised but also in the style of advertising.

In addition to giving a history of the paper, the centennial issue of the *Beacon-News* contains much about the city of Aurora itself. Several sections are devoted to its growth and development, its industry and transportation. A full page of pictures of the mayors of Aurora is also included.



In spite of chilly winds and bleak skies, the Old Settlers' reunion sponsored annually by the Aurora Historical Society was held in Phillips Park, Aurora, on August 28. A style show featuring the fashions of past decades was one of the high lights of the program. Music appropriate to the period of each gown being modeled was played. The speaker of the day was Frank G. Thompson, director of the Department of Registration and Education for the state of Illinois. Paul Ochenschlager was chairman of the program.

The Aurora Historical Society recently staged a citywide campaign for funds to maintain the Aurora Museum during the coming year. The city was divided into groups, with each member of the Society's board of directors acting as captain of a group. Results of the drive have not yet been announced.



Fred Marean, a founder and charter member of the Boone County Historical Society, addressed that organization on September 24 on "The Aim and Value of the Historical Society." The general theme of the October meeting was "Historical Places in Boone County." Short talks were made by the following persons: Everett Ryan, Mrs. Alva McMaster, Mrs. Harold Thomas, G. A. Ralston, Andrew A. Mulligan, Louis G. Johnson, G. E. Casper, and Mrs. Warren Lambert. Other members of the Society participated in the general discussion which followed the speeches.



Bureau County veterans of World War II are being urged by the Bureau County Historical Society to jot down their war experiences and send them to the offices of the Society. This organization is anxious to secure these accounts for preservation in the county's war record.

The Bureau County Historical Society had a very interesting exhibit at the county fair in August. One of the most unusual items on display was an old-fashioned corn planter used in 1863 by Alfred Kaar. It was presented to the Society by Jacob Kaar.



The Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County held a picnic supper and meeting on July 30 in the gardens of Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Brockman in East St. Louis. Mrs. Homer Little gave a history of the Brockman home and family, and Edwin Barmann outlined the history of the East St. Louis educational system. Because of a storm, the complete program could not be given.



The Chicago Historical Society recently featured an exhibit of photographs of all the presidents of the United States. The portraits, in sepia finish, are the work of the Pach Brothers studio in Washington, D. C., where every president beginning with Grant has been photographed. Each picture is accompanied by a letter or document signed by the president.

In October the third Chicago international color slide exhibit was held. It was sponsored by the Chicago Color Camera Club.

Other recent special exhibits have commemorated the one hundred and thirty-fourth anniversary of the Fort Dearborn Massacre and the seventy-fifth anniversary of the great Chicago fire.



The Morgan Park Historical Society (Chicago) held a meeting of officers and committee members on July 5 at the home of H. D. Higman, president of the Society. The purpose of the meeting was to consider ways and means of acquainting people of the community with the work of the organization. The Walker Branch of the Chicago Public Library has provided space for the Society's exhibits of historical material.



The property of the Jersey County Historical Society has been moved from the basement of the courthouse to the third floor of the Chapman Building in Jerseyville. A revival of the Society, which has been inactive for the past year, is planned in the near future.



A Jefferson County Historical Society was organized at a meeting held in Mount Vernon on October 8. Officers elected are: Denver McDonald, president; Orian Metcalf, vice-president; Mildred Warren, secretary; and Harold Howard, treasurer. J. Ward Barnes, president of the Southern Illinois Historical Society, was the speaker of the evening.



Members of the McLean County Historical Society made a pilgrimage to Galena and to "Hazelwood," the Charles Walgreen estate near Dixon, on Sunday, October 6. Leaving Bloomington early in the morning, the group went first to Galena where they visited many historic places of interest and were addressed by Congressman Leo E. Allen. On the return trip, they viewed the Black Hawk monument on Rock River and later in the afternoon were the guests of Mrs. Walgreen.



Edwin D. Davis spoke at the quarterly meeting of the Macon County Historical Society on September 12. He described Decatur's early-day whipping post and some of the whippings which took place there.

The Madison County Historical Society celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary at a meeting in Edwardsville on October 26. The principal speakers were H. B. Eaton who spoke on "Looking Backward," and William E. Skadden whose topic was "Looking Ahead." Mrs. H. L. Meyer is president of the Society. In commemoration of this twenty-fifth anniversary the Society has published an attractive, illustrated booklet describing some of the interesting items to be found in the Madison County Historical Museum.

The death of Mrs. Annie C. Burton in Edwardsville on August 5 is noted with deep regret. She had been a member of the Madison County Historical Society ever since the Society was organized in 1921, and served as its historian during the last twenty-three years. Mrs. Burton was the composer of the song, "Illinois, Our Illinois," published on the occasion of the Illinois centennial in 1918.

The Edwardsville branch of the Madison County Historical Society gave a historical pageant on Sunday afternoon, September 29. Based on the story of Fort Russell, the pageant was presented on the site of the old fort in a forested ravine on the Blackmore farm, about two and one-half miles northwest of Edwardsville. The cast of over two hundred persons included some descendants of pioneers who had lived in Edwardsville prior to 1812. The pageant was written by Miss R. Louise Travous. Jesse R. Brown read the narrative accompanying the action of the pageant.



Officers of the Peoria County Old Settlers and Historical Association decided at a meeting late in July not to hold the Old Settlers' Picnic this year because of the difficulty of obtaining food in large quantities.

William C. White is president of the group. Other officers are: Thomas H. Detweiller, first vice-president; George Alfs, second vice-president; W. E. Stone, treasurer; Mrs. Josephine E. Thurlow, recording secretary; Elmer F. Gury, secretary-manager.



As guests of the Greater Egypt Association, the Saline County Historical Society enjoyed a picnic lunch at Cave-in-Rock on Wednesday evening, August 14. At the meeting following the picnic the principal speaker was Judge James A. Watson of Elizabethtown. He talked on the Cave-in-Rock pirates and other Hardin County characters.

The Saline County Board of Commissioners recently made a room available where the Saline County Historical Society may keep old county

records. A committee consisting of Mrs. Fred Lindsay, Mrs. Clyde Pittman, and Scerial Thompson from the Society, and Claude Winkleman and Eugene Irvin from the Rotary Club, made the arrangements with the Board of Commissioners.

At the September meeting of the Society D. B. McGehee discussed early industries in Saline County. A constitution and by-laws were also adopted at this meeting. Roy L. Rievely donated an old kettle used for the manufacture of salt in the Harrisburg area many years ago. The Society has bought a series of maps of every township in the county to be used to locate historic sites.



On August 3 the Southern Illinois Historical Society made a pilgrimage to the French settlements along the Mississippi River. The group was guided by John W. Allen, curator of the Museum of Natural and Social Sciences, Southern Illinois Normal University. Members who did not wish to drive their own cars went in a chartered bus. A picnic luncheon was served at Fort Kaskaskia State Park. In the evening the pilgrims ate dinner in Cahokia. This was followed by a short program given by the Cahokia Historical Society of St. Clair County. Other places visited on the tour included Murphysboro, Rockwood, Chester, Fort Gage, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, New Design, Bellefontaine, Whiteside Station, and Columbia.

The Society held its fall meeting at Mount Vernon on October 17. Following a dinner in the Junior High School Cafeteria, Dr. Andy Hall of Mount Vernon talked on "Jefferson County Pioneers," and Professor John I. Wright of Southern Illinois Normal University discussed "Slavery in Illinois."



A pilgrimage to Galena was made by the Winnetka Historical Society on October 12. The group left Winnetka at 7:30 A.M. and arrived at Galena in time for a picnic luncheon. Guilford R. Windes was in charge of reservations for the tour. Miss Marion J. Russell is president of the Society.



The Woodford County Historical Society has recently obtained two historic millstones. One of these, hewn from native granite, was originally used in the Richardson mill erected on Panther Creek in the 1830's and in recent years has been on the Levi J. Freese farm. It is said to have been

the first water-power gristmill within the present confines of Woodford County. The other stone, which is apparently built in sections of hard limestone, is supposed to have been brought from France. It has been at the home of Dr. L. G. Melaik in Eureka for many years.



The Illinois State Historical Library is grateful to its many friends who have donated family histories in recent months. These books are most welcome since many of the Library's patrons are especially interested in genealogy. In appreciation of these gifts, we are listing below the names of donors who presented such gifts between October 1, 1945, and October 1, 1946.

Arthur Adams, Hartford, Conn., for Adams, *The Elkington Family in England and America*.

Minerva A. Albert, Chicago, for Minerva, *Record of the Family and Descendants of Nicholas Albert, 1800-1869*.

Edwin Wallace Bell, Vancouver, B. C., for Bell, *Israel Kenny, His Children and Their Families*.

Bradley and Bradley, Robinson, Ill., for Crawford County Bar Association, *Presley Goldanna Bradbury and Jennie Kelly Bradbury*.

George Norwood Comly, Moylan-Rose Valley, Pa., for Comly, *Comly Family in America*.

Mrs. J. W. Dansey, Chicago, for Dansey, *Graft-Dansey*.

William C. Deming, Cheyenne, Wyo., for Spring, *William Chapin Deming of Wyoming*.

Albert Trantum Ellis, East Hampton, Conn., for Ellis, *The Ancestry and Descendants of Amos Ellis of New Salem, Massachusetts, 1780-1856*.

Lloyd Espenschied, Kew Gardens, N. Y., for Espenschied, "Espenschied Family Findings During the War" and "Espenschied Immigrants" (mimeographed) and *Espenschied and Related Families of Evansville and Mt. Vernon, Indiana*.

Mrs. T. M. Fairchild, Iowa City, Iowa, for Fairchild, *The Name and Family of Fairchild*.

Eva Mead Firestone, Upton, Wyo., for Firestone, *Mead-Clark Genealogy*.

Hannibal C. Ford, Great Neck, N. Y., for Ford, *William Foord of the "Fortune."*

Mrs. W. W. Gambill, Nashville, Tenn., for Gambill, *The Kith and Kin of Captain James Leeper and Susan Drake, His Wife*.

Greenfield Public Library, Greenfield, Ill., for Allen, *The Genealogy and History of the Shreve Family from 1641*.

Harris and Partridge, Philadelphia, Pa., for Woodward, *Family Letters*.

Edward Werner Heusinger, San Antonio, Tex., for Heusinger, *The Heusinger Family in Texas*.

Illinois State Library, Springfield, Ill., for Crider, *Four Generations of the Family of Strangeman Hutchins and His Wife Elizabeth Cox*.

T. Harold Jacobsen, Salt Lake City, Utah, for Jacobsen, *Ancestry of Carma Erika Jacobsen*.

Rhea Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa., for Johnson, *The Shryock Line* and "Abstracts of Wills and Administration Papers. The Steer Family" (type-written MS).

John S. Kenyon, Hiram, Ohio, for Kenyon, *Pow Family Records*.

Sumner E. W. Kittelle, Washington, D. C., for Kittelle, *The Ketel Family*.

Luella (Pugh) Knott, Tallahassee, Fla., for Knott, *Reading Backward*.

Chester M. Lawson, Malden, Mass., for Altshuler Genealogical Service, *Lawson-Chester Genealogy*.

Carle L. Maskey, Los Angeles, Calif., for Maskey, *Some Early Ohio and Pennsylvania Families*.

Oliver Francis Mershon, Philadelphia, Pa., for Mershon, *My Folks; Story of the Forefathers of Oliver Francis Mershon, M.D.*

Emanuel J. Miller, Wilmot, Ohio, for Miller, *Family History of the Descendants of John F. Miller and Magdalena Miller*.

William T. Moffatt, Blue Mound, Ill., for Moffatt, *William and Barbara Moffatt*.

H. Minot Pitman, Bronxville, N. Y., for Pitman, *The Fahnestock Genealogy*.

Harry E. Pratt, Beloit, Wis., for Rockwell, *The Rockwell Family*.

A. M. Prichard, Staunton, Va., for Prichard, *Some of Lewis P. Kasper's Kin*.

Walter R. Sanders, Litchfield, Ill., for Sanders, *The Sanders of Kentucky, a Family History* and *The Scherer Family of Montgomery County, Illinois*.

Samuel Stephen Sargent, Charleston, Ill., for Sargent, *The Turner Family*.

Sidney D. Smith, Waterloo, Iowa, for Smith, *Mendell Family Genealogy*.

Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, Illinois Branch, for *Lineages of Members . . . to January 1, 1929*.

Homer Tate, Effingham, Ill., for Tate, "The Name and Family of Tate" (typed MS).

Charles Thom, Port Jefferson, N. Y., for Thom, *Matthew Tomb and His Descendants*.



The Illinois State Historical Society has added many new members during the past year. In each issue of this *Journal* in 1946, the names of all those who have joined the Society during the preceding quarter have been published. Continuing this policy, the list printed herewith includes the names of new members added to the Society during the months of July, August, and September, 1946.

- Alexander, Orville.....Carbondale, Ill.
 Austin, C. Henry.....Chicago, Ill.
 Barber, Clayton J.....Springfield, Ill.
 Bateman, F. Donald.....Barrington, Ill.
 Baugild, Mary Sahula.....Chicago, Ill.
 Blair, Mrs. John H.....Chicago, Ill.
 Brannan, Mrs. J. A.....Jerseyville, Ill.
 Brunk, Dorothy G.....Bloomington, Ill.
 Campbell, Miss C. W.....Knoxville, Ill.
 Chowen, Richard H.....Chicago, Ill.
 Danberg, Martin C.....Moline, Ill.
 Dix, Dorothy F.....Chicago, Ill.
 Dobbs, Hugh J.....Springfield, Ill.
 Donald, David.....Urbana, Ill.
 Elliott, James H.....Danville, Ill.
 Evans, Mrs. Donald W.....Peoria, Ill.
 Glass, James R.....Chicago, Ill.
 Goff, John J.....Effingham, Ill.
 Goldberg, Ben J.....Chicago, Ill.
 Gregory, James P., Jr.....Lexington, Ky.
 Hagan, James J.....Eureka, Ill.
 Hall, E. N.....Elizabethtown, Ill.
 Hantke, R. W.....Lake Forest, Ill.
 Harmon, Polly.....Springfield, Ill.
 Harper, Josephine L.....Champaign, Ill.
 Haskell, C. H.....Glenview, Ill.
 Hedstrom, Mrs. Walter T.....Bishop Hill, Ill.
 Hewitt, Herbert H.....Chicago, Ill.
 Hill, Mrs. J. D. G.....Lincoln, Ill.
 Hurley, Stephen E.....Chicago, Ill.
 Lynson, Mrs. Charles B.....New Orleans, La.
 Iamm, Samuel Richey.....Wheaton, Ill.
 Ielsch, Gerald.....Peoria, Ill.
 Iestnbaum, Meyer.....Chicago, Ill.
 Ilett, Ada M.....Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
 Iohlsaat, Mrs. P. B.....Evanston, Ill.
 Ieamon, Bertha R.....Mt. Carroll, Ill.
 Iewis, Mrs. John S.....Carbondale, Ill.
 Ligget, Mrs. John P.....Petersburg, Ill.
 Lindley, Fleetwood H.....Springfield, Ill.
 Machl, Dr. William H.....Evanston, Ill.
 Masters, Lt. Col. Hardin W.....Deerfield, Ill.
 Matheny, Stephen.....Council Bluffs, Ia.
 Mayo, W. L.....St. Paul, Minn.
 Meehan, Elizabeth C.....Carbondale, Ill.
 Meyer, Oliver A.....Alton, Ill.
 Middleton, R. Hunter.....Chicago, Ill.
 Millard, Joseph J.....Hillsdale, N.J.
 Morton, Mark.....West Chicago, Ill.
 O'Kieffe, DeWitt.....Kenilworth, Ill.
 Outten, Ethel Ann.....Decatur, Ill.
 Pedersen, Axel P.....Chicago, Ill.
 Preston, Lee K.....Chicago, Ill.
 Rammelkamp, Julian S.....Cambridge, Mass.
 Ray, Mrs. Rowan.....Peoria, Ill.
 Reef, Edward.....Carbondale, Ill.
 Richards, Mrs. Arthur.....Belleville, Ill.
 Robbins, Fred A.....Chicago, Ill.
 Roberts, D. M.....Alton, Ill.
 Sargent, Sam.....Charleston, Ill.
 Schmidt, Dr. Hubert.....New Brunswick, N.J.
 Shriner, Emma E.....Peoria, Ill.
 Snigg, John P.....Springfield, Ill.
 Stancik, Michael, Jr.....Chicago, Ill.
 Stonberg, Richard M.....Cambridge, Ill.
 Stookey, Mrs. Sherman.....Belleville, Ill.
 Strevey, Tracy E.....Evanston, Ill.
 Taber, Mr. and Mrs. W. B., Jr.....Kansas, Ill.
 Tjaden, John C.....East Peoria, Ill.
 Tournie, Mrs. Arthur.....Belleville, Ill.
 Vest, Eugene B.....Dixon, Ill.
 Washburn, Mr. and Mrs. H. P. Kewanee, Ill.
 Weeks, Wadsworth.....Pekin, Ill.
 Wells, Mrs. H. L.....Fontana, Wis.
 Wheeler, Mrs. Edgar E.....Chicago, Ill.
 Wilson, Henry E.....Urbana, Ill.

Most of the readers of this *Journal* know that anyone who is interested in the history of Illinois is eligible for membership in the Illinois State Historical Society. Many people outside the organization, however, have the impression that membership is exclusive: that teachers only are eligible and that a formal invitation to join is necessary. Of course this is not the case, and we are grateful to the members of the Society who have aided in correcting this impression by sending us the names of prospective members. We have mailed invitations to all whose names were submitted and the response has been excellent. The list below includes the names of

members who have been responsible for our adding new members during the period between May 1 and October 1 (with the exception of a few whose names were printed in the September issue).

Abrahamson, Elmer E.....	Chicago, Ill.	Malone, Mrs. Thos. R., Sr.....	Boone, Colo.
Adams, Edward E.....	Taylorville, Ill.	Mann, J. A.....	Shelbyville, Ill.
Baber, Adin.....	Kansas, Ill.	Mateyka, Melvin J.....	Urbana, Ill.
Bates, Alfred R.....	Chicago, Ill.	Matheny, Col. Willard R.....	Chicago, Ill.
Baugild, Mrs. Mary Sahula.....	Chicago, Ill.	Meeks, James A.....	Danville, Ill.
Becker, Philip, Jr.....	Peoria, Ill.	Meyer, Mrs. Harry L.....	Alton, Ill.
Carlson, Leland H.....	Evanston, Ill.	Nell, George.....	Teutopolis, Ill.
Chandler, E. W.....	Chicago, Ill.	Newcomer, F. X.....	Dixon, Ill.
Charnney, Theodore S.....	Chicago, Ill.	Newman, Ralph G.....	Chicago, Ill.
Coffman, Paul.....	Lincoln, Ill.	Nickols, D. F.....	Lincoln, Ill.
Collins, Charles.....	Evanston, Ill.	Nowlan, John H.....	Greenville, Ill.
Crowder, Carl M.....	Bethany, Ill.	Oakes, Royal.....	Bluffs, Ill.
Crum, Dr. E. W.....	Waverly, Ill.	Paullin, Laura V.....	Evanston, Ill.
East, Ernest E.....	Peoria, Ill.	Pearsons, Harry P.....	Evanston, Ill.
Fergus, Robert C.....	Chicago, Ill.	Peterson, Carl H.....	Chicago, Ill.
Flagg, Norman G.....	Moro, Ill.	Phillips, Hazel.....	Oaklawn, Ill.
Flinn, B. W.....	Rockford, Ill.	Randall, J. G.....	Urbana, Ill.
Goff, Dr. Arthur C.....	Staunton, Ill.	Rich, Stanley.....	Winnetka, Ill.
Hamilton, Delbert W.....	Carbondale, Ill.	Richards, Mrs. Arthur.....	Belleville, Ill.
Harriss, Clarence W.....	Mt. Vernon, Ill.	Riddle, Donald W.....	Cambridge, Mass.
Hayter, E. W.....	DeKalb, Ill.	Schraver, Lester O.....	Peoria, Ill.
Heaps, Mr. and Mrs. S. L.....	Kewanee, Ill.	Shaw, Joseph L.....	Geneseo, Ill.
Heide, B. H.....	Chicago, Ill.	Skinner, Virginia S.....	Albion, Ill.
Holbrook, Mrs. J. H.....	Springfield, Ill.	Smith, Glenn F.....	Chicago, Ill.
Hubbs, Barbara Burr.....	Chicago, Ill.	Smith, Sidney B.....	Springfield, Ill.
Ives, Ernest L.....	Bloomington, Ill.	Snow, Henry.....	Galesburg, Ill.
Jones, E. M.....	Salem, Ill.	Stitely, Nana E.....	Peoria, Ill.
Kircher, Theo. E.....	Belleville, Ill.	Thompson, Floyd E.....	Chicago, Ill.
Ladenson, Alex.....	Chicago, Ill.	Wheeler, Mrs. W. A.....	Albion, Ill.
Layman, T. J.....	Benton, Ill.	Williamson, Dr. M. R.....	Alton, Ill.
McGoorty, John P.....	Chicago, Ill.	Young, James Harvey.....	Atlanta, Ga.
		Ziegler, Sam A.....	Carmi, Ill.
		Zimmerman, Mrs. J. F.....	Harvey, Ill.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Dwight F. Clark is a Vice-President and Director of the Illinois State Historical Society and President of the Evanston Historical Society. . . . Harry Hansen, literary editor of the *New York World-Telegram* since 1931, is the well-known author of many books and articles. . . . Lieutenant L. B. Baker directed the pursuit and capture of Booth and Herold. . . . Jay Monaghan is State Historian of Illinois and the Editor of this *Journal*.

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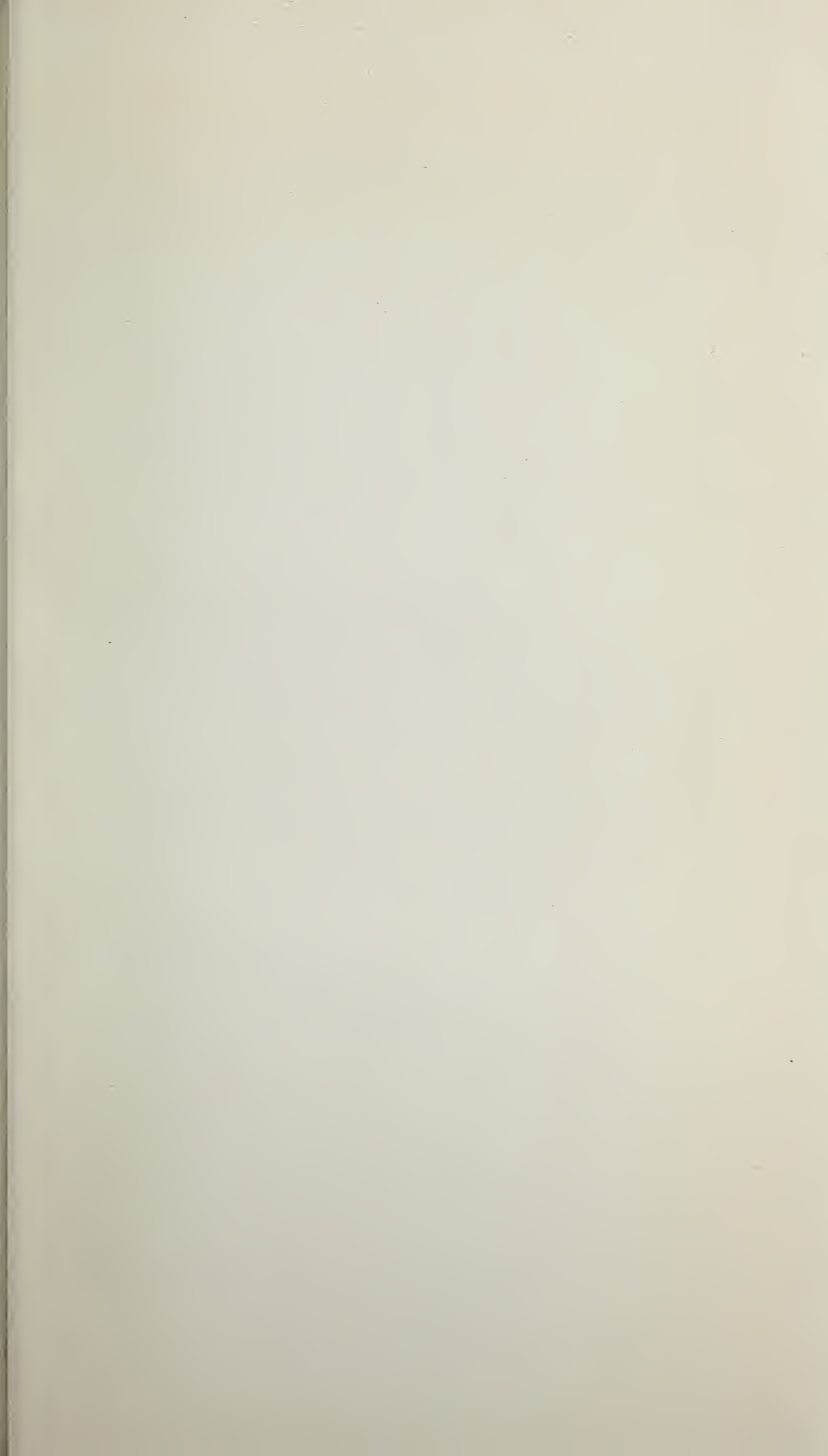
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